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Hoꞃꝺa Anᵹel-cẏnnan:

OR,

A COMPLEAT VIEW

OF THE
Manners, Cuſtoms, Arms, Habits, &c.
OF THE
INHABITANTS OF ENGLAND,
From the ARRIVAL of the SAXONS,
Till the REIGN of HENRY the EIGHTH;
WITH
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BRITONS,
During the Government of the ROMANS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By JOSEPH STRUTT,
Author of the REGAL & ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND.

VOL. I.

> Thus deep Deſire hath laſtly moved me
> On Pilgrimage Times Traces to perſue,
> The Relickes of his Ruines for to ſee,
> And for the Love of my deere Nation due,
> The Things concerning them which I did view,
> Tending to Engliſh Honour earſt concealed,
> Here in my Travels-Map I have revealed.
>
> *Verſtegan's Prefatory Poem to his Reſtitution of Decayed Antiquities*

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MDCCLXXIV.

TO HER GRACE

MARGARET CAVENDISH,

DUTCHESS DOWAGER

OF

PORTLAND,

THIS WORK

WITH HER GRACE's PERMISSION,

IS MOST HUMBLY AND RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED,

BY HER GRACE's

MOST OBLIGED,

AND HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOSEPH STRUTT.

Duke-Street,
Portland-Chapel,
Jan. 1ſt, 1775.

PREFACE.

To the READER.

THE ſtudy of antiquities is in itſelf both amuſing and uſeful; it not only leads to extenſive diſcoveries in ancient records but in great meaſure proves the truth and authenticity of thoſe venerable remains; it brings to light many important matters, which (without this ſtudy) would yet lie buried in oblivion; and explains and illuſtrates ſuch dark paſſages as would otherwiſe be quite unknown.

To a total want of proper taſte in collecting of antiquities, and application to the ſtudy of them, are owing the ignorant errors committed by the unlearned illuminators of old MSS. and ſo far were they from having the leaſt idea of any thing more antient than the manners and cuſtoms of their own particular times, that not only things of a century earlier than their own æra, are confounded together, but even repreſentations of the remoteſt periods in hiſtory. The Saxons put Noah, Abraham, Chriſt, and King Edgar all in the ſame habit, that is, the habit worn by themſelves at that time; and in ſome MSS. illuminated in the reign of Henry the Sixth, are exhibited the figures of Meleager, Hercules, Jaſon, &c. in the full dreſs of the great Lords of that Prince's court. At the latter end of one of theſe MSS. indeed the illuminator, reading ſomething about a lion's ſkin, has covered the ſhoulders of the beau Hercules, with that kingly animal's hide over his courtly load of ſilk and gold embroidery.

Yet this is a lucky circumſtance in the preſent want of antient materials, for though theſe pictures do not bear the leaſt reſemblance of the things they were originally intended to repreſent, yet they nevertheleſs are the undoubted characteriſtics of the cuſtoms of that period in which each illuminator or deſigner lived. If any one ſhould ſay, by way of objection to this eſtabliſhed rule, that though the illuminator has not given us the cuſtoms, habits, &c. of thoſe people he deſigned to picture out, yet is it not moſt likely that ſuch dreſſes as are given ſhould be fictitious, agreeable rather to his own wild fancy, than to the real cuſtoms and habits of his own times? To anſwer their objection, (and that becauſe the chief materials of the preſent work are collected from the ancient MSS.) the reader muſt be informed, that many of theſe MSS. (eſpecially ſuch as are illuminated) were done as preſents, or at the command of kings and noblemen, who are generally repreſented in the frontiſpiece in their proper habits, receiving the particular MS. done for them from the author, and they are generally pictured attended by their court, or retinue. That theſe figures ſhould be habited in the true dreſs of the times will not be doubted; and then, as far as the anonymous illuminations which may chance to follow in the MS. ſhall agree with thoſe figures in the frontiſpiece, ſo far they may be allowed as authentic; other MSS. were done for particular abbeys and monaſteries, in the embelliſhments of which no pains were ſpared. But a ſtill greater proof of the authenticity of theſe delineations is, that on examining all the illuminated MSS. of the ſame century together, which, tho' various, every one written and ornamented by different hands, yet on comparing the ſeveral delineations with each other, they will be found to agree in every particular of dreſs, cuſtoms,&c. even in the minutiæ, which perfect ſimilitude it would have been impoſſible to have preſerved, had not ſome ſure ſtandard been regularly taken for the whole, therefore the fancy of the painter will be found to have little ſhare in theſe valuable delineations.* Beſides, theſe pictures conſtantly agree with the deſcription of the habits and cuſtoms of the ſame period, collected from the old hiſtorians.

The following work (in its preſent dreſs) is quite new, and I believe the firſt attempt of this ſort ever made in this kingdom. It may be needleſs to obſerve, that though this work is ſo very differently conducted, yet the original plan is the ſame with that of the celebrated Montfaucon's *Monarchie Françoiſe.* The deſign of compleating the letter preſs in ſo full a manner as it is now done, was owing to the early peruſal of Camden, Verſtegan, Speed, &c. in whoſe works I met with vaſt materials, and ſuch information, as naturally led me to the ſtudy of thoſe very authors, from whence they themſelves had traced out ſo perfect a picture of our national antiquities. I have (as the reader will ſee) conſulted with great care and diligence, every author that could be thought likely to afford me any uſeful intelligence, and from thoſe numerous volumes faithfully ſelected the chief materials of the following work.

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* I can aſſert this fact with the greater poſitiveneſs, having examined ſuch a vaſt number of different MSS. (I believe all in the public libraries that are illuminated, or at leaſt all that have come to my knowledge) and, for an example, I will only mention as a fact, that in upwards of 30 MSS. of the Saxons with delineations, I have not found any variation worth mentioning. This aſſertion may in ſome meaſure be juſtified by the examination of the Saxon plates, collected from a vaſt variety of different MSS.

How much labour has been beſtowed to make this work as perfect as poſſible, I will leave to the judgment of the candid reader, on an impartial peruſal thereof. My chief care has been to repreſent things in their true light, without long and unneceſſary comments: whatever I have aſſerted, my reaſons and authority are fully explained; if they are not looked upon as permanent and concluſive, I ſhall be ſorry for having intruded on the patience of the reader: yet in excuſe I muſt ſay, they are ſuch as appeared to me in a more favourable light. The authors from whoſe works the chief matters are taken, are always mentioned in the margin, oppoſite to the quotation, ſo that the reader may eaſily refer to the original books themſelves, for his ſatisfaction or further information.

If any defects ſhould be found in the arrangement of the materials, I hope ſuch defects will be kindly overlooked, and the dificulty of ſuch an arrangement properly conſidered.

The ſtile of the writing defective as it is, as well as the faults of the preſs, (which may have eſcaped my notice) I hope the reader will alſo excuſe; for I ſhould not have commenced *author*, had not my love for national antiquities, and the abſolute neceſſity of a full deſcription of this my collection conſtrained me. Truſting therefore entirely to the candour and lenity of my judges, I have ventured to give this publication to the world, in its rough garb as it came from my pen. (excepting only, the few alterations it may have received from ſome of my kindeſt friends) I will now conclude with the words of the learned Verſtegan.

" I know I have herein made myſelfe ſubject unto a world of judges, and am likeſt to receive moſt controulement of ſuch as are leaſt able to ſentence me. Well I wote that the workes of no writers have appeared to the world in a more curious age than this, and that therefore the more circumſpection and warineſſe is required in the publiſhing of any thing that muſt endure ſo many ſharpſights and cenſures. The conſideration whereof, as it hath made me the more heedy not to diſpleaſe any, ſo hath it given me the leſs hope of pleaſing all.

The thing that firſt moved me to take ſome pains in this ſtudy, was the very natural affection which generally is in all men to heare of the worthineſſe of their anceſtors, which they ſhould indeed bee as deſireous to imitate as delighted to underſtand.

Secondly, was I hereunto moved, by ſeeing how divers of divers nations did labour to revive the old honour and glory of their owne beginnings and anceſtors, and how in ſo doing they ſhewed themſelves the moſt kinde lovers of their naturall friends and countrymen."

Thus I preſent to my countrymen, the portrait of their great anceſtors, and bring to light the elder glories of a noble nation: which ought with the greateſt care to be preſerved, and handed down to poſterity.

J. STRUTT.

TABLE

OF THE

Principal Heads contained in the Firſt Volume.

BRITISH ÆRA.

PAGE.
MANNERS and Cuſtoms of the Antient Britons - - 1
Government of the Britons - - - - - 2
Arms and Accoutrements of War, &c. - - - - - 3
Fortifications, &c. - - - - - - 4
Their Navigation - - - - - 6
Huſbandry - - - - - - - 7
Habits of the Britons - - - - - ib.
Of their Prieſts, Religion and Idols - - - 9
Some Obſervations on Stone Henge, Aubery, &c. - - 13
Of Roman Fortifications, &c. - - - 14

ANTIENT SAXON ÆRA.

Of the Antient Saxons, before their arrival into Britain - 16
Arms and Warlike Cuſtoms of the old Saxons - ib.
Deſcription of the Saxons - - - - - - - 18
Antient form of Government of the Saxons - - - 19
Of their Ordeals, &c. - - - - - - ib.
Their Religion and Idols - - - - - 21
Their Navigation - - - - - - 22
Habits, &c. - - - - - - - 23

The ANGLO-SAXON ÆRA.

The Fortifications of the Anglo Saxons - - - 24
Weapons and Warlike Habits of the Anglo-Saxons - - - - 29
Their Religious Buildings - - - - - - - 33
Their Domeſtic Buildings - - - - - - 36
Their Regal Courts - - - - - - 37
Their Government and the Adminiſtration of their Laws - - 39
Navigation of the Anglo-Saxons - - - - - 41
Their Huſbandry, &c. - - - - - - - 43
Domeſtic Employment - - - - - - - 45
Dreſs and Habits, &c. - - - - - - - 46
Their Banquets, &c. - - - - - - 48

Muſical Inſtruments - - - - - 50
Sports and Paſtimes - - - - - - ib.
Antient Hiſtory of Burials - - - - - - 51
Of Monuments, &c. yet remaining in England - - - 59
Of Barrows - - - - - - - ib.
Obeliſks, Pillars, &c. - - - - - - 61
Of the Cromlech and Kiſt-Vean - - - - ib.
Of Rocking Stones - - - - - - 62
Chriſtian Burials of the Anglo-Saxons - - - - 66
Of the Arts and Learning among the Anglo-Saxons - - 70
The Marriages, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons - - - - 74

The DANISH ÆRA.

Of the Danes both before and after their Eſtabliſhment in England - 79
Obſervations on the Government of the Danes - - - 82
Obſervations on the Arms, &c. of the Danes - - - 83
Some Obſervations on Daniſh Fortifications - - - 85
Sea Affairs and Shipping of the Danes - - - ib.
Some general Obſervations on the Dreſs, Habit, and Cuſtoms of the Danes 86

The NORMAN ÆRA.

Of the Antient Normans - - - - - 88
The Fortifications of the Anglo-Normans - - - - 89
Of the Soldiers, Arms, and Warlike Habits of the Normans - 96
The Military Arrangement of the Norman Armies - - - 99
The Religious Buildings of the Normans - - - 102
The Domeſtic Buildings of the Normans - - - 104
Some Account of the principal MSS. from which the Materials of this Work are chiefly collected - - - - 105
Deſcription of the Plates - - - - - 107

THE

THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
OF THE
ANTIENT BRITONS,
FROM THE
ARRIVAL OF JULIUS CÆSAR,
UNTILL THE
SAXON CONQUEST.

EVERY one who is converſant in the early parts of the Britiſh Hiſtory, muſt be acquainted with the doubtfulneſs and uncertainty of it: and with how little fairneſs, much leſs truth and juſtice, any of the peculiar cuſtoms of the Britons can be truly ſet forth before the landing of Julius Cæſar.

The ridiculous and idle fables of that arch-dreamer Geofry Monmouth, (with ſeveral others of the ſame ſtamp) are entirely (and that with the greateſt juſtice) excluded from the leaſt ſhare of authenticity.

Indeed the learned conjectures of many eminent men of later date, may very well deſerve the attention of the curious; and for the ingenuity of them be extremely amuſing. Yet with how little certainty we can depend even on them, is evident from the following circumſtances; every author who has ſome favourite hypotheſis to ſupport, is often obliged to wreſt, if not conſound, the more perfect parts of hiſtory, to clear up the imperfect tracings of his own invention: and whatever degree of truth and reaſon he may appear to have on his ſide, it will be impoſſible (or at leaſt hitherto it has been found to be ſo) for him to build on ſo ſure a foundation, but that other learned men may ſtart ſome hidden or neglected facts, whoſe irreſiſtable force may greatly ſhatter, if not totally overthrow the ground-work of his labours.

And ſo it muſt always be, where the author is ſo much in the dark, as to be forced of neceſſity to gueſs at random; having beſides this diſagreeable circumſtance attending, that, if by chance he ſhould hit the mark, it is impoſſible for him to be certain that he is perfectly in the right.

Since then the hiſtory itſelf is ſo little known; how much leſs ſhall it be poſſible to point out the manners and cuſtoms of a people, whoſe exiſtence is all we can be certain of.—I hope then it will not need an excuſe, that I have omitted thoſe things that are not confirmed by good authority; chuſing rather to leave matters that are doubtful, in the dark as they are, than by intruding on the patience of the public, as well as waſting my own time, to render them, perhaps, more confuſed by endeavouring to clear them up.

Neither in my opinion will it be in the leaſt neceſſary for me to meddle with the different opinions of the learned, concerning the ſeveral names, &c. with their derivations, that have been given to this iſland, and its inhabitants.—All I ſhall ſay, is, that it was before Cæſars time known to the Greeks and Phenicians, by the names of Albion, Britannia, &c. who traded with the Britons bartering for their tin and lead, (which commodities are very plentiful in the Weſtern parts of the iſland) both iron and braſs, (theſe the Britons held in great eſtimation) as alſo earthen veſſels, ſalt, &c. But for the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, we have no account of credit till the arrival of Cæſar; whoſe Commentaries contain ſome curious matters touching them.—The Britons themſelves, (according to this author) held it unlawful to ſet down the acts of their kings, and heroes, in writing, or any other matters, ſave only ſuch public and private accounts as it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep; which were put down in the Greek character, for which Cæſar gives theſe reaſons, firſt, "Becauſe they would not have their learning divulged among the vulgar; and, ſecondly, leſt thoſe who were learned ſhould depend too much on their knowledge of letters, and by that means neglect to cultivate their memories."

See Camden, Speed, Sammes, &c.

Sammes Brit.

Cæſar de Bell. Gall.

The Britons are divided by Cæſar into two ſorts of people; of which he ſuppoſes the inland inhabitants to be the natives of the iſland, but thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the ſea coaſts, were ſuch as for the ſake of war and plunder, had croſſed over from the Belgæ, &c. almoſt all of whom retained the names of their provinces.—But Tacitus, (who lived ſometime after Julius Cæſar, at a time when the Romans were much better acquainted with the iſland and its inhabitants) gives a nicer deſcription of them.—"Who were the firſt poſſeſſors of Britain (ſays he) whether natives of its own, or foreigners, can be little known amongſt a people thus barbarous. In their looks and perſons they vary, from whence ſeveral arguments and inferences are formed; for the red hair of the Caledonians and their large limbs, teſtify their deſcent to be from Germany; the ſwarthy complexion of the Silures, and their hair, which is generally curled, with their ſituation oppoſite the coaſt of Spain, furniſh ground to believe, that the ancient Iberians had arrived from thence here, and taken poſſeſſion of the territory. They who live next to Gaul are alſo like the Gauls; whether it be that the ſpirit of the original ſtock, from which they ſprang, ſtill remains, or whether in countries near adjoining, the genius of the climate confers the ſame form and diſpoſition upon the bodies of men."

Tacitus in Vit. Agricolæ.

Government of the BRITONS.

Antiently Britain was under the government of ſeveral petty kings, who were continually diſputing with each other for ſuperiority; to which inteſtine diſcords were owing the rapid conqueſts of the Roman arms. 'Tis true, that on the firſt arrival of Cæſar, Caſſibelan was choſen by them to be the chief conductor of the war, but they unhappily ſoon fell off from this good order, to their old quarrels and diſſentions, which rendered them an eaſy prey to the enemy. "For (ſays Tacitus) they were ſwayed by ſeveral chiefs, and rent into factions and parties, according to the humour and paſſions of thoſe their leaders. Nor againſt nations thus powerful does ought ſo much avail us, as that they do not conſult in a body for the ſecurity of the whole. It is rare that two or three communities

Vit. Agric.

munities aſſemble and unite to repulſe any public danger threatening to all: ſo that whilſt only a ſingle community fought at a time, they were every one vanquiſhed."

Arms and Accoutrements of War, &c.

The ſlight arms of the Britons were very unfit to withſtand the Romans in cloſe encounters, but, in light ſkirmiſhes, prudently made, they generally gained conſiderable advantage.

Cæſar de Bell. Gall.

Cæſar tells us that they had a dart, or javelin, which they threw from their war chariots to annoy the enemy: beſides this, they had a ſhort ſpear for the infantry, with a bell at the nether end, and this they ſhook with great violence before the battle, ſuppoſing that the enemy would thereby be greatly intimidated. They had alſo a large ſword and a ſmall buckler, according to Tacitus.—"The Britons (ſays he) who were poſſeſſed at once of bravery and ſkill, armed with huge ſwords and ſmall bucklers, quite eluded our miſſive weapons, or beat them off, whilſt of their own they poured a torrent on us, till Agricola encouraged three Batavian cohorts and two of the Tungrians, to cloſe with the enemy, and bring them to an engagement hand to hand; as what was with thoſe veteran ſoldiers become familiar by long practice, but to the enemy very uneaſy and embarraſſing; for the ſwords of the Britons which are ſo large and blunt at the end are unfit for grapling, and cannot ſupport a cloſe encounter. Hence the Batavians thickened their blows, wounding them with the iron boſſes of their ſhields, and mangled their faces, bearing down all who withſtood them."

Vit. Agric.

Dio Nicæus

To theſe arms Dio Nicæus adds a dagger.

Cæſ. Com.

We now come to their chariots of war; one ſort of which is mentioned by Cæſar, and called Eſſedum*. "This (ſays he) is the nature of their fighting from their chariots; they firſt ride in every part of the field and caſt their darts as they think them advantageous, frequently breaking the ranks by the prancing of the horſes, and whirling of the wheels: when they have wound themſelves amongſt a troop of horſe, they alight from their chariots and carry on the attack on foot; the chariotteers meanwhile draw off a little from the engagement, yet, ſo as to be ready at all times to ſuccour the fighting parties, by being placed where the retreat to them might be ſpeedy and ſafe. Thus they make advantage of the nimbleneſs of the horſes, and firmneſs of the foot; ſo expert are they from conſtant practice, that they can ſtop their horſes when in full ſpeed down a ſteep hill, and check and turn them in the ſmalleſt compaſs; run upon the pole, riſe upon the harneſs, and with the greateſt nimbleneſs from thence return to the chariot."

Pomponius Mela.

Pomponius Mela ſpeaks of another ſort of chariot, called Covinus. "They (the Britons) fight (ſays he) not only on horſeback and on foot, but in waggons or chariots, after the manner of the Goules: they call them covins, and they are armed with hooks, and ſcythes, ſet into the axle-trees."

Vit. Agric.

And Tacitus ſpeaking of the Britons, tells us, that "Their principal force conſiſted in their infantry, tho' (continues he) ſome nations amongſt them made war alſo in chariots, which the more honourable perſon always drove, and under his conduct his followers fought." By this it ſhould ſeem that the uſe of war chariots were not univerſal in Britain, but particular only to certain provinces.

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* Genus hoc eſt ex Eſſedis pugnæ, &c. Cæſar de Bell. Gal. lib. iv. cap. xii.

The firſt mentioned chariot or *Eſſedum*, does not appear to have been armed with hooks or ſcythes, like to the Covinus; to theſe two may be added a third chariot, called Rheda, but it is uncertain whether it was armed like the Covinus or not.

The Britons in their battles would often feign to fly, merely to draw the enemy to a purſuit, and when they ſaw a company following them from the main body, they would immediately face about, and attack them with ſuch amazing fierceneſs and courage, that the purſuers paid ſorely for their zeal in following of them.

Tacitus Annal. They fought not only under the conduct of men, but alſo of women, who were always admitted into their councils both of peace and war, and great deference was paid to their opinions; of which ſex *Boadicia* was a wonderful example of courage and greatneſs of ſoul, under whoſe valiant conduct the Romans dreadfully felt the weight of Britiſh arms.

Cæſ. Com. Before they began a battle they took ſeveral ſtrange methods to intimidate the enemy, ſuch as making great ſhouts, driving their chariots with great noiſe and violence up and down the field, and ſhaking their ſpears with the bells at the end, being themſelves, to make their appearance more dreadful, painted of a blue colour, with horrid images wildly traced on their ſkin. We have this deſcription given us by Tacitus, of the inhabitants of the Iſle of Angleſey, on the arrival of Paulinus Suetonius, "So the footmen (viz. the ſoldiers of Paulinus Suetonius) having paſſed over, the horſemen followed by the ford, or by ſwimming, if the waters were high. The enemy's army ſtood on the ſhore, well appointed with men and weapons; their women running up and down amongſt them, with their hair diſhevelled, and clad in moſt frightful attire, bearing fire-brands in their hands, like the furies of hell; and round about them were their Druids, lifting up their hands to Heaven, and muttering thouſands of imprecations and dreadful curſes. A ſight ſo ſtrange and unuſual ſtruck the Roman ſoldiers with amazement, they ſtood like inanimate beings, till they were by the General encouraged to put forward, and not to fear a band of women and men, whoſe frantic geſtures were only meant to intimidate them." Tacitus Annal. lib. xiv.

It was the cuſtom with the Gauls and Britons to draw up the men of different provinces diſtinctly, that each party might have an opportunity of diſplaying their valour.

Their Fortifications, &c.

Cæſ. Com. Their fortifications were very rude, conſiſting chiefly of a natural force. The Britons, ſays Cæſar, call a thick wood which they have fortified with a ditch and rampire of earth, a town, within which they built huts or cottages for themſelves, and ſtalls for their cattle. Their Houſes, (according to Diodorus Siculus) were built with wood, the walls were made of ſtakes and watlings, like hurdles, and were thatched with either reeds or ſtraw. * Such was the rude ſtate of the Britiſh fortifications, domeſtic buildings, &c. in the earlier æra; but ſoon after we find them (improving apace from their enemies experience) ſetting up Diodorus Siculus.

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* Dio Nicæus tells us, that the northern parts of them dwelt in tents, going naked:

up ſtrong ſtakes on the banks of earth, as well as large ſtones rudely laid on each other without mortar. Tacitus thus deſcribes the camp of Caractacus,—"He (Caractacus) choſe a place for the battle, where coming in and going out was very inconvenient to us, at the ſame time moſt commodious and eaſy to himſelf, then he got to the top of a hill with his army, and where the paſſage was eaſy for us to get to him, it was ſtopped up with a heap of ſtones in the manner of a rampire; not far off ran a river, whoſe ford was dangerous and uncertain, and a great troop of his beſt ſoldiers were poſted ready on the other ſide to defend the paſſage, and prevent the enemy from landing."

Tacitus Annal. lib. xii.

However barbarous we may ſuppoſe the antient Britons to have been, they certainly were not unuſed to war, for long before the coming of the Romans, they were continually making inroads into each other's provinces, with conſtant diſturbances and civil broils, that were generally decided by the ſword. But here we ſhould obſerve, this war was only amongſt themſelves; their manners of making war and offenſive weapons were known to each other, the chance then depended much more on the courage, experience, and number of either army. But now 'tis not the naked Briton fighting againſt his fellow, but againſt a man caſed up in ſtrong armour, and trained by long practice and experience, under the greateſt Generals in the knowledge of every requiſite to make a good ſoldier. Neither courage nor number could much avail the Britons, for from their want of military order and diſcipline, joined with their own private controverſies, (each ſcattered about and fighting after his own faſhion) they were ſoon made the victorious triumph of the more experienced Romans.

When Cæſar croſſed the Thames (in order to reach the city of Verulum, where Caſſibelan was entrenched) which was only fordable in one place, he found it fortified with ſharp ſtakes ſet into the bed of the river, and but for the treachery of one of the natives, who diſcovered this to Cæſar, he would have met with a warm reception, but the Roman ſoldiers being appriſed of it, avoided the ſtakes and got clear over.—Bede tells us that theſe ſtakes were in his time to be ſeen, about the thickneſs of a man's thigh, ſet into a beam, and caſt round with lead to make them faſt.

Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. lib. v.

Ven. Bede Eccl. Hiſt. lib. i.

The Britons began about the time of Auguſtus to be upon better terms with the Romans, inſomuch that one of their Kings, named Cunobelin, (who was a great favorite of Cæſar's) coined money with his portrait on it, in imitation of the Romans, who had lately adopted that cuſtom, and his ſubjects began in many matters to follow the Roman manners and cuſtoms. In the time of Claudius, the Romans grew into great favour with the Britons, for ſome of them being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Britain, were received in a very friendly and hoſpitable manner, and at *Camalodunum* (the chief city of Cunobelin, but won from his ſons by Claudius) there was a temple built to the honour of this Claudius Cæſar, for his great clemency to the conquered Britons.

Camden, &c.

Tacitus Annal. lib. ii.

Seneca.

Again we find them under the tuition of Agricola, building temples, houſes, and places of aſſembly; the ſons of the chief Britons were inſtructed in the liberal ſciences. "Already (ſays Tacitus) even in this early dawn of knowledge, the natural capacity of the Britons was preferable to the ſtudied acquirements of the Gauls; they (continues he) began to honour our apparel, and the uſe of the Roman gown became frequent amongſt them; they were proud of the arts, and learned the Roman tongue, which hitherto was not only hated but deſpiſed; they erected galleries and ſumptuous baths, and were fond of grandeur and elegance

Vit. Agri.

in their banquetings." Thus we ſee them advancing with haſty ſtrides to ſloth and luxury. The crafty Romans meanwhile, as much as poſſible, encouraged them in theſe purſuits, well knowing that by ſuch means they ſhould not only correct the natural ferocity of the Britons, but that in proportion as they gave way to luxury, the uſe of arms and military arts would gradually loſe ground.

Of their Navigation.

Cæſ. Com.

Lucan.

Their navigation muſt have been very confined in this early time, not only from the nature and faſhion of their veſſels, but from their method of voyaging. Cæſar tells us that their boats were of a very ſlight conſtruction, the keels and ribs were of ſome light wood, which was covered over with leather. And Lucan alſo further explains them, "First (ſays he) they were made of oſiers twiſted and interwoven with each other, which were covered over with ſtrong hides." And in theſe veſſels the Britons ventured out to ſea, ſailing from hence to Ireland, which paſſage is often very rough and boiſterous. Though ſome learned men have ſuppoſed that they had larger veſſels for war and traffic *.

Polyhiſtor.

'Tis ſaid that when they undertook a voyage, they abſtained from food 'till it was completed; whereby it plainly appears that they could not undertake any long voyages.

Hiſt. du Commerce.

Strabo.

They traded with the Greeks and Phenicians; who, in return for the tin and lead of the Britons, brought earthen pots, brazen ware, &c. We find Auguſtus Cæſar levying a tax upon the commodities vended and received by the Britons, which, beſides what was before mentioned, conſiſted of ivory boxes, iron chains, and many other ornamental trinkets.

Plott's Staffordſhire Borlaſe's Ant. of Cornwall.

Speed's Chron. of Eng. p. 30.

Speed's Chronicle. page 29.

They had no coined money according to Cæſar, who expreſsly ſays that "they uſed pieces of braſs, and iron tallies of a certain weight, inſtead of money"; but Dr. Plott and Mr. Borlaſe, with other learned authors, are of the opinion that coined money was prior to Cæſar's arrival. A gold coin (as is ſuppoſed) of Caſſibelan, which Speed has given in his Chronicle, is brought as a ſure proof of this aſſertion; but as this coin bears but the very doubtful traces of a name, and is attributed to Caſſibelan only from thoſe ſuppoſed letters of a name, it may be too haſty a concluſion in thoſe that would give it as a certain proof: I muſt ſay, (with all due ſubmiſſion) that to me the workmanſhip of this coin ſeems much too good for thoſe barbarous times; the man and horſe are both conſiderably too perfect and well proportioned to be executed by a people, amongſt whom the arts were not only not encouraged, but not known. Beſides this, there is another coin in the ſame Chronicle, inſcribed *Com: Rex*, ſuppoſed to be of that Comus (if, ſays Speed, he be a Briton) who fled to Cæſar, and became a traitor to his native country. But even allowing (which is not barely probable) this to be a coin of him, and he himſelf to have been a Prince of Britain, yet it is to be believed that he cauſed it to be done not only in imitation of the Romans, but alſo that he employed a Roman artiſt (or ſome one by them in-

inſtructed)

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* Ou ſi outre ces vaiſſeaux, qui étoient pour leur uſage journalier, ils n'en avoient point d'autres, de gros bois, et de matiere ſolide, comme Selden l'a cru, pour les voyages de long cours, & pour la guerre. Il eſt certain qu'on ne trouve aucun paſſage dans les livres des anciens, qui marque qu'ils euſſent de grand vaiſſeaux bâtis de bois ſolide, ſelon la fabrique ordinaire.—Hiſtoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens, page 202.

ſtructed) to fabricate this coin for him. This I dare ſay will readily be allowed upon the examination of it, and by comparing it with ſome rude ones, doubtleſs of the Britons, and evidently of a later date, the workmanſhip of which it greatly excells. I think the words of Cæſar ought, (as the Rev. Mr. Pegge obſerves) to be tranſlated and taken in their full ſenſe, * that is, that the Britons poſitively did not coin money prior to his (Cæſar's) arrival. Mr. Pegge attributes (and I dare ſay with the greateſt juſtice) the firſt coinage of money in Britain to Cunobelin, the favorite of Auguſtus.

See Pegge's Eſſay on the Coins of Cunobelin.

HUSBANDRY.

The art of huſbandry was very little known to them till the arrival of the Romans, for their inteſtine quarrels and continual diſcords muſt neceſſarily prevent the proper cultivation of their lands, and hinder the progreſs of an art that can only flouriſh in the time of peace. They had great plenty of cattle, and grew ſome corn, the chief of which was barley, and of this they made their drink. Their corn, ſays Diodorus Siculus, they houſe in the ear, and threſh it out as they have occaſion for it; but this is to be underſtood of the more civilized Britons, for Cæſar tells us that moſt of the inland people ſow no corn, but live on milk and fleſh; and Dio Nicæus, ſpeaking of of the northern parts of the iſland, informs us, that the inhabitants tilled no ground, but lived on prey which they got by hunting, and the fruits of trees; and though they have there great quantities of fiſh, yet they would not touch them: they dwelt naked in tents, going even without ſhoes: “ theſe people (ſays he) would endure hunger, cold, and labour, with great patience; they would continue whole days up to the chin in boggs, without food; in the woods they lived on the roots of the trees, and had a kind of meat ready on all occaſions, of which, only taking the bare quantity of the ſize of a bean, prevented their ſuffering from hunger or thirſt.”

Solinus
Dioſcorides,
Diod. Sic.
Dio Nicæus.

Camden tells us, that cherries were firſt brought into England in the year 48. And from ſeveral authors we learn, that the Britons, in the time of the Roman emperor Probus, were permitted to plant vines both for uſe and pleaſure; tho' at that time they could not be much farther uſeful than being ornamental, and affording an agreeable ſhade; the proper method of cultivating them they learned from the Romans, who were an induſtrious people, and well verſed in every branch of huſbandry. Neither had they much occaſion to grow their own wine, their neighbours from the continent gladly ſupplied them, in return for their other commodities.

Camden's Brit. 485.

They had, according to Strabo, ſome ſlight notion of planting orchards. And Pliny further adds, that they manured their ground with marl, and were not altogether ignorant of gardening.

Strabo.
Pliny's Nat. Hiſt.

The Habits of the BRITONS.

We will begin with Cæſar, who tells us that they were cloathed in ſkins, and ſtained themſelves with *woad*, to make their appearance more dreadful in battle: they

Cæſar Bel. Gal.

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* “ Utuntur aut ære, aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo.”——Cæſar de Bel. Gal. lib. v.

they wore their long hair hanging down on their ſhoulders, and ſhaved all parts of their body, the upper lip excepted. Here it is neceſſary to obſerve, that Cæſar has told us there were two ſorts of the Britons, of which, thoſe inhabiting in Kent, and on the ſea ſhore, (of whom he ſpeaks chiefly) were much more civilized, and modeſt, than the inlanders: for Herodian writing after Cæſar of the more northern nations, tells us, that "the inhabitants knew no uſe of cloaths, but wore rings of iron and braſs about their necks and middles, to ſhew their riches, as in other countries they do gold and precious ſtones: on their bodies, (continues he) they painted ſtrange reſemblances of hideous animals: and leſt the beauty (as they ſuppoſed it) of their painting ſhould be hid, might be the prevailing reaſon for their going naked: they had a ſword hanging by their ſides, but were entirely ſtrangers to the uſe either of the croſslet, or helmet, which they ſuppoſed, would be not only unſerviceable, but burthenſome to them in croſſing the bogs and fens." This account of Herodian, agrees with what has been above ſaid of the northern Britons, from Dio Nicæus, that they lived naked, dwelling in tents, &c. Herodian. Dio Nic.

Whether painting the bodies among the Britons was at all times, or in all parts, a conſtant cuſtom, is much diſputed; ſome ſuppoſe that it was only in war to make them look terrible, and at their feſtivals and ſacred rites; when, ſays Pliny, they coloured themſelves like Æthiopians, being naked with their wives and children at the ſolemnities; other authors aſſert, that painting of their bodies became much more general after the arrival of Cæſar than it was before, but perhaps that might ariſe only from the iſlands being then better known to the Romans, and of conſequence the knowledge of the manners and cuſtoms of the people became much more extenſive, unleſs we ſuppoſe with Sammes, that being after the arrival of Cæſar involved in almoſt a continual war with the Romans, they endeavoured to make themſelves as frightful as poſſible to thoſe unlawful invaders, by a conſtant ſtaining and painting of their bodies. Some authors have alſo ſuppoſed, that the paint or die would waſh off, which might be, unleſs thoſe who painted animals, &c. (which ſeem chiefly to have been ornamental) cut the ſkin, and ſo pounced the colour into the wound. Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. Sammes Brit. As Iſidore affirmeth.

We find the civiller ſort in Varro's time wearing robes, one of which he deſcribes as a thick hairy garment, which the Britons themſelves called *Gaunacum*, from whence perhaps our modern word gown may be derived. Varro.

And Strabo, ſpeaking of the more polite ſort of the people, (inhabitants moſt likely of Kent, Cornwall, and Devon) aſſures us, that they wore long black garments reaching down to their ankles, walking with large ſtaves in their hands, (like furies in a tragedy.) However, Diodorus tells us that they were mild and gentle in their diſpoſition, as well as plain and truly honeſt in their dealings. Strabo. Diod. Sic.

Caractacus, King of the Silures, when he appeared before the Emperor Claudius Cæſar, is ſaid to have been attired in the following manner: His body was for the muſt part naked, and painted with divers animals, an iron chain round his neck, and a ſecond round his middle; his hair was long and curling, the hair of his upper lip was unſhorn, and hung down on either ſide falling upon his breaſt; he neither hung down his head, (ſays Tacitus) or in words craved for mercy. Speed's Chron. Tacitus Annal. lib. xii.

From ſeveral Hiſtorians we have the following deſcription of the habit of our great Britiſh Heroine *Boadicia*: "She wore a looſe robe of changeable colours, over a thick plaited kirtle, the treſſes of her hair hanging down to her very Strabo. Speed.

very ſkirts with a chain of gold about her neck, and carrying in her hand a ſhort ſpear or dart.

Soon after this the Britiſh people began under Agricola to adopt many of the Roman manners and cuſtoms, to wear their robes, and habit themſelves much after their faſhions.

Tac. Vit. Agric.

Of their Prieſts, Religion, and Idols.

Their prieſts were called Druids. Cæſar has given us a full deſcription of the Druids of Gaul; and tells us, that “they were not only the ſame both in manners and cuſtoms with the Britiſh Druids, but further adds, that this diſcipline was firſt inſtituted in Britain,[*] and from thence tranſported to Gaul; ſo that thoſe who would be thoroughly initiated in the Druid knowledge, came over from Gaul to Britain to learn it in its original purity.

Cæſ. Com. Bell. Gall. lib. vi.

Although the kingdom was anciently divided into ſeveral petty governments, each having its own King and cuſtoms, yet the power of the Druids was univerſal; they were the arbitrators of all diſputes, not only ſpiritual but temporal, determined all controverſies, both public and private; if any crime was perpetrated, any murder committed, or diſpute made about the right of inheritance, or bounds of an eſtate, the Druids were always the judges to examine and determine the cauſe: they would, according to their pleaſure, decree rewards and puniſhments, and he who would not abide by ſuch their ſentence, was excommunicated, and barred from being at their ſacrifices and ſolemn feaſts, a puniſhment the moſt ſevere, for they who were thus excommunicated being reckoned amongſt the vile and notorious wicked, were carefully ſhunned like a dangerous infection by every one.

See Camden, Stukeley, & Borlaſe.

The Druids had over them all one primate or chief,[‡] who ſuperintended and poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority, at whoſe deceaſe the next ſuperior in merit was to ſucceed; but when there were many equals, the matter was determined by the votes of the Druids; though it ſometimes happened that they had recourſe to the ſword, and diſputed the ſovereignty by the force of arms.

Cæſar

They of Gaul aſſembled, at an appointed time of the year, at a *conſecrated place*, near to the borders of *Chartres*, ſuppoſed to be about the middle of Gaul. Hither they came from all parts who had diſputes, and ſubmitted them to the general determination.

Cæſar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi.

It is the common received opinion, that the Britiſh Druids attended conſtantly at this meeting in common with thoſe of Gaul, and that it was a great and general aſſembly of all the Druids, but I am of a contrary opinion; for Cæſar, who tells us this, immediately afterwards ſays, that thoſe of the Gauls who were willing to be more deeply learned in the myſteries of Druidiſm, came into Britain in order to be thoroughly inſtructed. Now it ſeems moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that if this was ſo great and general a meeting of the Druids, the place of aſſembly would certainly have been in Britain, where Druidiſm was the beſt known, and of the longeſt ſtanding; but it is moſt likely, that theſe were only annual meetings of the national Druids, aſſembled together to adjudge ſuch cauſes as might either from their nature or difficulty have been left undecided by the particular Druids of each province; and that in Britain they had alſo their great annual meeting at ſome particular and conſecrated place, perhaps *Stone-Henge*, (which has been evidently proved to be of Britiſh conſtruction.) Beſides, as this was alſo an annual aſſize, or tribunal court, every one muſt be ſtruck with the inconvenience (not to ſay impoſſibility) of removing it out of the kingdom; and farther, it is to be remarked, Cæſar is here ſpeaking of the Gauliſh Druids only, who, ſays he, in all things copied thoſe of Britain.

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[*] Hæc Diſciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam tranſlata eſſe exiſtimatur; & nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoſcere volunt, plerumque illo diſcendi cauſâ proficiſcuntur.—Cæſar de Bel. Gal. Lib. vi. Com. viii.

[‡] Sammes and other authors make two of theſe chiefs, (of which one reſided in the Iſle of Angleſea) one preſiding over the North, and the other over the South Britons.—Sammes' Brit. Illuſtrata.

See Stukeley's Stone-Henge.

The Druids never went to the wars, nor did they pay any taxes, but held a free enjoyment of all things. This encouraged many of their own accord to frequent their ſchools, whilſt others were ſent by their parents. They learned a vaſt number of verſes by heart, ſo that ſome of them continued twenty years in their education, it (as was before obſerved) not being lawful for them to commit any thing to writing, (the public records and private accounts excepted which were all kept in Greek characters.)

The Druids had the tuition of the youth; for it was not cuſtomary for the ſon to be ſeen with the father till he was able to bear arms.

Borlaſe's Hiſt. of Cornwall.

There were alſo an inferior order of Druids, called Bards, moſt remarkable for their memory, ſinging the actions of their kings, heroes, and great men. Their office moſt likely was to teach the pupils thoſe hymns and verſes that it was neceſſary for them to learn, whilſt thoſe of the ſuperior order were employed in higher ſpeculations, and the more ſolemn and ſecret myſteries of their duty. Thoſe youth who were not to be initiated in the ſecrets of Druidiſm, were diſmiſſed from the ſchools as ſoon as they had courage and ſtrength ſufficient to fight for their native liberty.

Cæſar.

The Druid doctrine was, that the ſoul cannot periſh, but goes continually from one body to another. They conſtantly inſpired the youth with thoughts of honor and glory, teaching them to ſing the heroic deeds of their great anceſtors, and above all things to hold thoſe in the greateſt contempt who manifeſted the leaſt fear of death. They are ſuppoſed to have been very learned in natural philoſophy, inſomuch, that many authors have attributed to them the perfect underſtanding of the magnet, and, as ſome ſay, of the compaſs. However, Cæſar tells us, that they uſed to inſtruct their youth in the knowledge of the heavens, the courſe of the ſtars, and their motions, the magnitude of the world, and of the earth, as well as of the nature of things, and the power of the immortal Gods.

Stukeley's Stone Henge & Aubery.

Hiſt. & Ant. of Cornwall

They had female Druids alſo, according to Borlaſe, of which there were three different claſſes.

The firſt were thoſe who lived in perpetual virginity, and were conſtant attenders on the ſacred rites.

The ſecond claſs were thoſe who were married, but only ſaw their huſbands once a year, that they might have children.

And thirdly, thoſe who were married, and never ſeparated from their huſbands, but governed their families, brought up their children, and laboured as much as became their ſex and circumſtances, nothing differing from the common duties done by other women.

Speed adds a ſort of Druids, who forbad the worſhipping of idols, or any other form intended to repreſent the Godhead. Speed's Chronicle.

However extenſive the natural knowledge of the Druids may have been, their horrid ſuperſtitions and barbarous rites are ſufficient teſtimonies of their ignorance concerning the benign nature of a merciful God, as well as a great proof of their wanting the common charitable feelings of human creatures. Not only beaſts but men were equally the victims of their bloody and helliſh ſacrifices. They taught in common, that the Gods were never better pleaſed than when the life of one man was taken from him, in oblation for another; ſo that when a Briton was about to undertake any difficult and perilous enterprize, he either would offer, or vow to offer, up a *Man* to the immortal Gods, impiouſly ſuppoſing that they, in conſideration of ſuch a ſacrifice, would preſerve him with uncommon care and diligence. The Druid then was the miniſter to perform this deviliſh office; nay ſo fond did they imagine that their Gods were of the ſlaughter of the human ſpecie, that they had public ſacrifices, where, in a large wicker image, (made to repreſent a human figure) the unhappy victims were ſhut up alive, which being ſet on fire, the miſerable wretches periſh in the flames. Thoſe thus burnt were generally malefactors, whoſe crimes had rendered them obnoxious to the law, and theſe they ſuppoſed were always the moſt acceptable to the Gods; but, ſays Cæſar, for want of theſe the innocent and harmleſs often ſuffer. Dio Caſſius Solinus. Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

The rites and religious myſteries were by the Druids performed in their ſacred groves, which were of oak. Max. Tyrius ſays, that the Celtæ, or Gauls, worſhipped Jupiter, of whom they made the talleſt oak to be the reſemblance. Max. Tyr.

'Tis undoubted that they had the oak in the greateſt veneration, eſpecially when they found any thing growing round it, for then it was eſteemed ſacred, and they imagined that the Gods had choſen that tree for themſelves. But particular regard was paid to the miſletoe, when it was found growing round the oak, which at a certain ſeaſon of the year was gathered with great parade, and many ſuperſtitious ceremonies: Firſt, they obſerved that the moon was ſix days old, for then they began their months, as well as the new year; then having the ſacrifice prepared under the tree, two milk white bullocks were brought forth that had never worn a yoke, whoſe horns were then, and not till then, bound up; this done, the prieſt (habited in a white veſtment) aſcended the tree, and with a golden pruning knife cut off the miſletoe, which was carefully received into a white woollen cloth by them that attended below, over which many orations and incantations were muttered, then it was kept ſacred; the decoction of which they eſteemed as an antidote to poiſon, and a ſure remedy for barrenneſs, as well as many other bodily diſeaſes. Pliny's Nat. Hiſt.

The Britons worſhipped ſeveral gods; as Jupiter under the name of *Toramis*, or Thunderer; (the ſame with *Thor* of the Germans; from whence our Thurſday).—Mercury under the appellation of *Tutates:* him they eſteemed the inventor of arts, the patron and protector of travellers, and the great god of all merchants and merchandize. Cæſ. Camden, Speed, &c.

Mars according to ſeveral authors bore the name of *Heſius**, the god of war: when they made war, they vowed to devote to him, whatever ſpoils they might get Camden, Speed.

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* In the Antient Univerſal Hiſtory it is remarked, that this is a great error in confounding Mars with Heſius, or Eſus, which ſignifies the great and ſupreme deity. They undoubtedly did worſhip Mars, but under another appellation. See vol. xix.

Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. lib. vi. get in the progreſs of that war: whence, ſays Cæſar, (of the Gauls,) " one often meets with large heaps of ſpoils, laid up in their ſacred places, in ſeveral provinces, which none dared touch; for the moſt terrible torment was the ſure puniſhment to be expected, by thoſe detected in the perpetration of that crime."

Camden. Hearne. Apollo, or the ſun, was called *Belenus*, or *Belatucardus*†, and was a favourite god amongſt the Britons.

Diana they named *Ardurena*, or *Ardoeuna:* they alſo worſhipped the goddeſs of victory, by the title of *Andraſte:* they had beſides, Minerva, Janus, and ſeveral other gods.

Cæſar. But whether the Britons, like the Gauls, derived their original from the god *Dis*, is uncertain; yet, there is the ſame reaſon for thinking ſo, that Cæſar aſſigns for the Gauls, namely, counting the time by nights, and not by days; as fortnight, ſevennight, inſtead for fourteen days, ſeven days; unleſs we wholly derive this cuſtom from the Saxons, who certainly reckoned in this manner.

They had ſtatues, and portraitures of ſome of their gods, which (probably not through intention, but want of ſkill) were hideouſly ugly; which made Gildas. Hiſt. the religious Gildas mournfully exclaim; calling them " ugly ſpectres, merely diabolical." And of the groteſque figures of their deities, that were yet in his time, remaining on the ruined walls of their old cities; to declare, that they out-did the idolatry even of the Egyptians.

'Tis thought that the Druid worſhip continued in full force till the time of *Lucius*, about the year of our Lord 177; when chriſtianity being embraced by him, and the nobles of the land, biſhops were ordained, (and by the civil power protected) to preach unto the people, and to convert them. Thus the Druids being deprived of all their authority in civil matters, their power began by degrees to dwindle away, in proportion as the chriſtian religion flouriſhed, and became eſtabliſhed in the realm.

Bell. Gall. lib. v. The wives of the Britons, according to Cæſar, were common to ten or twelve, eſpecially brethren to thoſe of their brothers, and parents to their children. But whatever children were born, were always attributed to him to whom the woman was married.

Dion. Caſ. The empreſs *Julia*, (conſort of *Severus*) one day rallying a Britiſh lady, on this indecent cuſtom of her country; ſhe replied, Indeed we Britiſh women do herein much differ from the ladies of Rome, for we openly accompany with the worthieſt men in the land; while here, they take up with every baſe fellow in a corner.

Bell. Gall. Men had the power of life and death over their wives and children: and when a king, or nobleman died, if the leaſt ſuſpicion was entertained of an untimely death, the wife in common was put to torture, the ſame as a ſervant; and if ſhe was found guilty, ſhe was tormented with fire till ſhe died: from whence ſome Seldan. have thought we ſtill retain the cuſtom of burning women, who murder their huſbands.

The funerals of the Britons were performed (if the parties were of diſtinction) with much pomp, and ſuperſtitious ceremony. They threw into the pile, all that they ſuppoſed the deceaſed held dear while living, not ſparing the animals that he affected; nay indeed, Cæſar tells us, the Gauls uſed to put the favourite ſlaves into the funeral fire, to be burnt with their maſters.

Some

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† It is ſaid by ſome authors that this god is erroneouſly called Apollo, and who ſuppoſe him to have been the ſame with Mars of the Romans. See Baxter's Gloſ. and Gale's Comment. in Antoninus.

Some Obſervations on Stone-Henge, Aubery, &c.

I here take the liberty of offering ſome few words, concerning thoſe venerable old remains of antiquity, Stone-Henge, Aubery, &c. Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Borlaſe, have between them, given a compleat account of the antient Druids; and Dr. Stukeley has taken infinite pains, to prove Stone-Henge, and Aubery, to be not only of Druid conſtruction, but that they were alſo the temples of worſhip of the Druids. Mr. Borlaſe has partly agreed with the Dr. in their being temples of worſhip, but imagines, that they may alſo have been made uſe of as courts of judicature. My thoughts are, that they are beyond a doubt the rude ſtructures of the Britons, but I think they were intended as courts of judicature only.

See Stukeley's Stone Henge and Aubery, & Borlaſe's Antiq. of Cornwall

All antient authors have told us, that the temples of the Druids were neither more, nor leſs, than a thick grove of oaks; or at leaſt, if there ſhould have been a rude temple, it was on a hill, ſurrounded with oaken trees. Indeed Mr. Borlaſe has advanced an aſſertion, that would entirely confirm the Doctor's opinion; when he ſays, "that Saliſbury plain, however it is now a wild and barren plain, was antiently a thick wood;" and in the middle of which wood, he ſuppoſes Stone-Henge to have been built. But, I am afraid, Mr. Borlaſe has gone a little too far in his aſſertion, to be able to keep pace with proofs.

Dr. Stukeley himſelf did not ſtart ſuch a conjecture, but thought Cæſar, (or rather the tranſcribers of Cæſar) had miſtakenly placed *luco*, pro *loco*,—a grove for a place. In ſhort, (with all ſubmiſſion) the Doctor's account is moſt undoubtedly, very learned and ingenious, but to me it does not ſeem concluſive, ſince he is obliged to gainſay the very authority that his ſtrongeſt arguments are founded upon.

Cæſar tells us, that the Druids of Gaul met once a year at *Chartres*, to determine ſuch difficult matters in public aſſembly, as each Druid, or private meeting of the Druids of each province, had not been able to ſettle. Certainly thoſe of England alſo, had their annual meetings; for the ſame author informs us, that the Gauliſh Druids in all reſpects reſembled thoſe of Britain. Allowing this, where can we ſuppoſe a better place for ſuch a public aſſembly, than a large extenſive plain? where all buſineſs might be tranſacted, "in the fair face of day." Neither does the ſuppoſed altar, or the burnt bones of animals, &c. found near it, in the leaſt diſprove this conjecture; for it is very clear that the Druids never began any important buſineſs, without firſt ſacrificing to the Gods. Nor is the form, and conſtruction, in the leaſt unfit for ſuch a purpoſe. And for thoſe of more common ſtructure, as Aubery, Roll-Rich, &c. they may have been the courts of judicature, for ſuch particular provinces, or kingdoms; where the Druids of ſuch provinces, might meet at certain ſtated times, to determine publickly all ſuch matters, as might not require the deciſion of the whole aſſembly of Druids, &c. I hope the candid reader will (if this opinion ſhould ſeem vague, and unlikely to him,) recollect that I mean it only as a conjecture of my own, and as ſuch, have given it in as few words as poſſible; and, however ſlight or trifling it may appear, it has coſt me an infinite deal of pains, in ſearching, and comparing the different authors that have written on this ſubject; and to get good reaſons (or at leaſt ſuch as ſeemed to me concluſive) to eſtabliſh this conjecture in my own mind; without which, I ſhould have never preſumed to preſent it to the public.

Of

Of the ROMAN Fortifications.

Before I take my leave of the Britiſh Æra, it may not be improper to ſay ſomewhat concerning the fortifications of the Romans; as well of their camps, as of their cities and fixed ſtations. Tho' I wiſh hereby to be underſtood only to mean ſuch as are within this kingdom, and have fallen under the inſpection of learned men; or ſuch knowledge as I have gained in faithfully examining a conſiderable variety of them: and this I ſhall only treat upon as far as is abſolutely neceſſary for the better underſtanding ſuch camps, caſtles, &c. of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as may have been ſucceſſively improved from them by thoſe ſucceeding people.

The Romans having firſt choſe out a convenient ſpot for their camp, (generally near a river if poſſible) began by marking out the ſpace it would require; then by throwing up a high bank of earth all round it, they made a deep ditch, which being well planted with ſtakes, and fortified with thick ſet paliſadoes, was filled with water. Sometimes they made (as the place might from its ſituation require) not only one, but two or three banks of earth, and conſequently as many ditches. On the vallum, or bank, was raiſed a parapet with battlements, and large ſtakes were cut branching out, (as Cæſar expreſſes it) like ſtags horns, and faſtened in between the joints of the battlements; then they built at convenient diſtances, wooden towers round the whole work: thoſe deſcribed by Cæſar in his camp were 80 feet from each other.

Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. lib. vii.

But in thoſe camps where the emperor or chief general was preſent, there was a leſſer fortification (of the ſame ſtructure) within the large camp; this was called the prætorium, and therein they erected the general's tent.

The form of theſe camps were often varied; ſome few are round, others quite ſquare, but they moſtly are of an oval, or rather an oblong ſquare, with the ſharp corners taken off. (Plate 1, fig. 2.) is the repreſentation of a very large, and perfect Roman camp, at Wallbury, near Hallingbury, in the county of Eſſex.

It is ſituated on an eminence precipitating off to the river Stort, having a double vallum, B. B. B. and D. D. D. and contains full thirty acres: the firſt ditch is almoſt cloſed up, except at F, where ſome traces of it yet remain, about 15 feet over: the outer and leſſer vallum, D. D. D. is about 26 feet broad at the bottom, and as many high: the great ditch, C. C. C. is full 32 feet wide; and the inner vallum, B. B. B. is about 30 feet wide, and full that in heighth. At A, is a ſudden precipice down to the river E, where the inner ditch C, is loſt for full 30 yards, and the outer vallum and foſſe far more than double that ſpace; from the nature of the place they became entirely uſeleſs on this ſide; it being naturally ſo well fortified, by the vaſt ſteepneſs of the deſcent. The three diviſions in the camp are the preſent entrances, of which the two broader ones appear to be the original, the leſſer one being cut through for the convenience of carriages.

Beſides theſe camps, which were only for the preſent uſe, or as reſts from ſtation to ſtation, they had walled cities, the remains of ſeveral of them are yet to be ſeen in England; theſe were ſtrongly fortified, and the walls ſo ſolidly built, that had they not been barbarouſly deſtroyed, and with great labour ſtubbed down, they would have ſtood for ages to come.

The original old wall of the city of London, was beyond a doubt Roman; ſaid to have been built by Conſtantine, which Dr. Woodward, (who had an opportunity of examining it when Biſhopſgate was taken down, and foundations dug for the new buildings) thus deſcribes. “ From the foundation which lay 8 feet below the preſent ſurface, quite up to the top, which was in all near 10 feet high; it was compiled alternately of layers of broad flat bricks and rag ſtone; the bricks lay in double ranges; each brick 1 inch 3-10ths. thick, the whole layer with the mortar interſperſed, exceeded not 3 inches: the layers of the ſtones were not quite 2 feet thick of our meaſure: 'tis probable that they were intended for 2 feet of the Romans, their rule being ſomewhat ſhorter than ours. To this heighth the workmanſhip was after the Roman faſhion. The mortar that was intermixed with the rag ſtone, was become as hard as the ſtone itſelf, and the thickneſs of the whole wall was full 9 feet.” This deſcription of Dr. Woodward's exactly agrees both in the meaſures and materials, with the Roman ſtation at Cheſterford in Eſſex, that I examined with the greateſt care and circumſpection, in the year 1772; great part of the wall then remaining, which has been ſince ſtubbed down. In 1773, ſtopping again at Cheſterford, I had an opportunity of ſcrutinizing into the materials of the firſt foundation, which was a red ſandy loom, intermixed with ſmall ſtones, full 2 feet in heighth, on which was raiſed the more ſolid foundation, compoſed of rag ſtones and ſtrong cement; this was full 3 feet in heighth, the top of which is almoſt equal with the preſent ſurface of the ground; and on this was built the wall, compoſed of rubble, ſtone, and cement, together with layers of bricks as above deſcribed. This ſtation muſt have been very large, it is upwards of 1000 feet in length, and the breadth of the wall is full 12 feet.

See Dr. Woodward's Letter to Sir C. Wren, publiſhed by Hearne at the end of the 8th vol. of Leland's Itinerary.

The ſtandard meaſure of the Roman brick, is 1 foot and a ½ in length, and 1 foot in breadth, according to Vitruvius: “ But (continues Dr. Woodward,) in meaſuring ſome of theſe very exactly, I found them 17 inches 4-10ths. in length, and 11 inches 6-10ths. in breadth, and 1 inch 3-10ths. in thickneſs of our meaſure.” And this meaſurement exactly tallies with that which I made of thoſe bricks from the old wall at Cheſterford.

Theſe walled ſtations do not appear to have been ſurrounded by a ditch, neither are they built on vallums or banks of earth, but on a ſtrong foundation brought even with the ſurface of the ground.

THE END OF THE BRITISH ÆRA.

OF THE ANTIENT SAXONS, BEFORE THEIR ARRIVAL IN BRITAIN.

BEFORE I enter upon the deſcription of the manners, and cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of their original, and more antient ſtate. The people generally called Saxons, were compoſed of three nations, each bearing a different name: to wit, the *Saxons*, the *Angles* and the *Jutes*, all branches of the ſame ſtock, exactly agreeing in their language, cuſtoms and religion. They were (ſays Sammes) led under the conduct of their valiant chief *Woden*, from Scythia and Cimmeria, into the northern parts of Germany; whence they ſpread themſeves all along upon the coaſts of the Baltic Ocean, and ſo round to Belgium and Batavia, living chiefly by piracies; for their great valour and fierceneſs they were much dreaded by the neighbouring nations, nay, even the Romans themſelves were apprehenſive and fearful of them, ſo deſperate and dangerous an enemy were they.

Sammes's Brit. p. 411.

Marcellinus Zoſimus.

They are generally called *Saxons*, and were more particularly known in Britain by that name, as well at the time of their arrival as afterwards.

I ſhall paſs in ſilence over the many fruitleſs and uncertain accounts of thoſe authors who have endeavoured in vain to bring to light the true derivation of the names of theſe people, taking notice only of the opinion of Verſtegan, who gives the Saxons their name from the ſwords worn by them, "which (ſays he) were called Seaxeꞅ, or Seaxen, from Saıꞅen a ſcythe, becauſe theſe ſwords were long and bending like a ſcythe, having the edge the contrary way." But theſe crooked ſwords muſt have been of very ancient date, for the Anglo-Saxons entirely dropped the uſe of them, ſubſtituting in their ſtead long ſtrait ſwords double edged, as will be clearly ſhewn hereafter.

Reſtitution of Decayed Antiq. p. 21.

The Arms and warlike Cuſtoms of the Old Saxons.

Ibid. lib. p. 22.

According to Verſtegan, beſides the long ſword above mentioned, they had a knife or dagger; the ſword, or long Seax, they wore by their ſide, whilſt the dagger, or hand Seax, was kept in a ſheath diſtinct by itſelf. This laſt was the ſort of weapon made uſe of by Hengiſt and his followers on Saliſbury Plain, when he met Vortigern, king of the Britons, (with many of the nobles of the realm in his train) in order, as the Britons ſuppoſed, to conclude an amicable peace; the unſuſpecting Britons came unarmed to this meeting, while the treacherous Saxons had each a knife, or hand Seax, concealed under his garment, when, on the watch word "Nem couꞃ Seaxeꞅ," (that is, take out your knives) being given, they ſuddenly drew their weapons forth, and inhumanly butchered the

Nennius Hiſt. Brit. cap. 48.

the unhappy Britons. And this may alſo be the weapon mentioned by Witichindus, a Saxon writer, in theſe words, "Great knives, or rather bended ſwords, they truſſed on little ſhields acroſs their backs."

Witichindus

The Saxons were undoubtedly a ſtout and hardy people, delighting chiefly in war, holding it at all times far more honourable to take the neceſſaries of life by force from others, than by their own induſtry to provide them for themſelves. War was indeed a part of their religion, for they not only held it diſhonourable for a man to die of a diſeaſe, or in his bed, but ſuppoſed that he would be entirely excluded from the joys of a happy ſtate hereafter, which was a place in Woden's Hall, where, in an endleſs round of quiet and contentment, he ſhould ſit and quaff full cups of ale in the ſkulls of his enemies: this was their heaven; and their place of puniſhment plainly proves their deteſtation of ſloth and indolence, for they ſuppoſed the torments to be a continual ſucceſſion of lazineſs, ſickneſs, and the moſt miſerable infirmities.

Tacitus

Sherringham de Orig. Ant. Gent.

They had yet other ſpurs to awaken in them a thirſt for glory, and an enthuſiaſtic deſire of martial fame; for if any quitted the field of battle without ſucceſs, they were under a temporary diſgrace; but if any one ſurvived, and left the field where his Prince or General was ſlain, he was branded with perpetual infamy.

Tacitus in Deſcript. of Germany.

If a ſoldier loſt his ſhield in battle, he was debarred from being preſent at their ſacred rites, for grief of which many of them deſtroyed themſelves.

When they elected a General, (ſays Tacitus) which was done by the votes of the ſoldiers, he was ſet upon one of their ſhields, and borne on men's ſhoulders amidſt the applauſes and acclamations of the people.

Tacitus Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 6.

They prudently choſe for a General one that had given undoubted proofs of his valour, and was well experienced in the art of war; becauſe they repoſed the greateſt confidence in him when elected; implicitly obeying his orders, and following him with unwearied aſſiduity. They paid the greateſt attention to order and military diſcipline, obſerving their ranks, taking the advantage of the field, benefit of the day, and conſtantly making their entrenchments in the dead of night; for fortune they held as always doubtful, but prudence and valour, they eſteemed as certain. They would not go to battle, or undertake any great expedition without firſt conſulting their wives, to whoſe advice they payed the greateſt regard: they alſo ſuperſtitiouſly placed great faith in the neighing of horſes. When they deſigned to declare war againſt their enemies, they ſet their ſpears before the temple of their gods, and the ſacred horſe* was led out; when if he put his right foot forward, the omen was held good, but, if on the contrary he ſtepped with his left foot firſt, the omen was eſteemed as unlucky, and they deſiſted from the intended buſineſs. Alſo to know the event of a battle, previous to the engagement, they would arm one of their own men, and ſet him againſt an armed captive; and by the iſſue of this combat, they would judge the ſucceſs of the field. They went ſinging to the battle, carrying before them the images of their gods from their conſecrated woods, and had Runic characters engraven on their ſpears, which were held as magic charms. Theſe Runic characters

Deſcript. Germ.

Camden's Brit.

Sax. Gram.

Tacitus de Mor. Germ.

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* Perhaps this is the ſame horſe that was kept in the temple of the idol Peꞃenuꞇh, on which they ſuppoſed the god would ride to help them in battle; and this they could not in the leaſt doubt the truth of, becauſe often after a battle, the horſe was found entirely in a foam. But it is to be noted, the prieſts alone had the care of the horſe, none dared to come near the place where he was kept, till they pleaſed to ſhew him to the people.

Sherringham characters were either invented, or improved by Woden, who taught the putting them into rhyme; the which, with the art of engraving them on tables of ſtone, they brought with them into Germany †.

Sidonius lib. viii.

The Saxons had a moſt barbarous cuſtom of ſacrificing every tenth priſoner to Woden, who they thought, would highly delight in ſuch horrid cruelty.

Verſtegan

Single combat, by them called Cemp or Kemp-fiᵹht, was often practiſed in matters that could not readily be decided in any other manner.

Tacit. Deſ. Germ.

No man was permitted to bear arms, 'till he was with great ſolemnity admitted in a general aſſembly, where his father, or ſome one of his neareſt kindred, preſented him with a ſhield and a framea, or ſhort ſpear: thus the path of honour was opened to him, and this was the firſt ſtep to glory and renown. Their arms they always held in the greateſt veneration, ſo that a virgin given in marriage, brought as her dower, a ſhield, a ſword, and a lance, theſe were received as the moſt ſacred pledges, nay, as the very patron gods of matrimony: neither came they unarmed even to their councils, or feaſts. They bound their leagues, and friendſhips in blood: and at their drinking feſtivals they would embrace each other, and cut a vein in their foreheads letting the blood fall from thence into each others cups, which, being ſtirred about with the wine, they drank it off, accounting it the higheſt mark of friendſhip to taſte each others blood. And after this drinking, they anointed their heads with ſome cooling unguent to prevent the fumes of the wine affecting them.

Sax. Gram. lib. 1.
Pomp. Mela
Herod. lib. iv

P. Diaconus

A man might not cut his beard till he had ſlain his enemy, or taken his ſtandard from him. And they wore a ring of iron round their necks in token of bondage, till by their bravery and valour, they had it taken from them with honour.

As we have ſeen that they were ſtrenuous and ſanguine in the purſuit of glory, ſo were they equally firm and ſteadfaſt in misfortunes, bearing a mind too noble to be debaſed even in capivity. A band of them being taken by *Lyſimachus*, (a Roman general) were led to Rome, with the deſign of producing them as gladiators at the public ſhews in the amphitheatre, for the paſtime of the Romans, but they reſolutely put an end to their lives the morning they were to be produced, chuſing much rather to die, than diſgracefully turn the edge of their ſwords againſt each other to pleaſure their inhuman enemies.

Deſcription of the SAXONS.

Verſtegan.
Marcell.

They are ſaid to have been tall, fair complexioned, free and bountiful in their manners, of a chearful and modeſt carriage; and however they might appear fierce and ſavage to their enemies, they were very kind and loving amongſt themſelves.

Verſtegan, page 57.

They were compoſed of four ranks or degrees of people, the firſt of which were called Eꞇhel, (noble;) the ſecond were Fꞃi-leoꝺ, (freeborn;) the third Fꞃiᵹelaꞇen, (letten or made free;) and the fourth claſs were Eaᵹen, (own, proper, that is bondmen:) theſe generally married amongſt themſelves, yet if any one by his good and gallant deportment advanced himſelf, he was as much or more reſpected than if he had really been born in the ſtation he had raiſed himſelf to.

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† Woden alſo made a law, that the bodies of the dead, ſlain in battle, ſhould be burnt, together with their arms, ornaments and money; and over the aſhes of their kings and heroes, to raiſe large hills of earth: and on the ſepulchres of thoſe who had performed great and glorious actions, to erect high monuments inſcribed with Runic characters.

Antient Form of Government of the Saxons.

Their ſtate government was antiently conducted by twelve noblemen, choſen from the reſt for their virtue, valour, and integrity. Theſe in times of peace rode on their ſeveral circuits to ſee juſtice done, and the laws put in full execution; they had alſo their ſet times for the twelve to meet together, to conſult on the management of public matters. In war one was choſen from the twelve to be made king, but that dignity continued only during the war, for on the re-eſtabliſhment of peace he laid down his royal authority, and ranked again with the twelve, (from whence he had been elected.)*

Verſtegan, page 62.

They were very ſevere in the due enforcement of their laws, particularly puniſhing adultery; for the offending woman had firſt her hair cut off, and then ſhe was turned forth ſtark naked (or at leaſt with her cloaths cut off to her girdleſtead) from her huſband's houſe, in preſence of all her kindred, and was whipped from town to town till ſhe died, without the leaſt regard being paid either to her ſex, wealth, or beauty. Her ſeducer was generally hanged on a tree. Thoſe that were unnaturally lewd were ſtifled in filthy mud, and covered with hurdles.

Of their ORDEALS.

If a perſon was accuſed, or ſuſpected of a crime, which could not be fully proved, he was put to the ordeal, or trial, either by fire or water. The firſt fiery ordeal was thus: Nine red hot plough-ſhares were brought forth, and laid at unequal diſtances, and the accuſed perſon having his feet bare, and his eyes cloſe blinded, was to walk over them, which if he performed without touching the ſhares, he was inſtantly declared innocent, if not, guilty. †

Reſtitution of Decayed Intell. p.63.

The next fiery ordeal was thus: The ſuſpected perſon took a red hot iron into his hand, which if he held without being burnt, he was acquitted; but on the contrary, if it ſcorched his hand, he was inſtantly condemned; for they thought that Heaven by miracle would certainly interpoſe to ſave the innocent.

They had alſo two more ordeals by water, the firſt of which was after this manner: The accuſed was ſet before a veſſel of boiling water, into which he was to plunge his naked arm, and ſentence was given according as he was either ſcalded or not. The ſecond was to thruſt the accuſed into a deep water, where if he ſtruggled in the leaſt to keep himſelf on the ſurface, he was accounted guilty, but if he remained on the top of the water without motion, he was acquitted with honour. Hence, without doubt, came the long continued cuſtom of ſwimming people ſuſpected of witchcraft;* which idle trick was lately put in practice on two poor old people in the Hundreds of Eſſex, by ſeveral ſtupid, illiterate blockheads, who affirmed that they had bewitched their cattle.

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* But about the ninth century this form of government ceaſed entirely, when the perpetual name of duke, with the chief authority was given to one; the others were made lords and earls.

† This ordeal was put in force (if we may believe Ran. Higden) even in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, when Emma, mother to the king, being accuſed of incontinency with Alwin, biſhop of Wincheſter, was put to the plough-ſhare trial. This with the other fiery trial, were for the nobility only, the commoner ſort were tried by the water ordeals. The above circumſtance concerning Emma is not confirmed either by Ingulphus, Wm. of Malmſbury, or Matthew of Weſtminſter, yet Higden, to prove it more fully, adds, "Tunc Regina Emma dedit Sancto Swithino ix Maneria, & Epiſcopis alia ix Maneria, propter illos ix Vomeres, quos Emma pertranſiit."—Polychronicon, lib. vi.

There is alſo the faint traces of theſe antient cuſtoms in another ſuperſtitious method of proving a witch; it was done by weighing the ſuſpected party againſt the church bible, which if they outweighed, they were innocent; but on the contrary, if the bible proved the heavieſt, they were inſtantly condemned.

However abſurd and fooliſh theſe ſuperſtitious cuſtoms may ſeem to the preſent age, little more than a century ago there were ſeveral unhappy wretches not only apprehended, but alſo cruelly burnt alive for witchcraft, on very little better evidence than the above ridiculous trials. Several great and learned men have alſo taken vaſt pains to convince the doubting age of the real exiſtence of witches, and the juſtneſs of their execution; but ſo very unbelieving are we grown at preſent in theſe and ſuch like ſtories, as to conſider them only as the idle phantoms of a fertile imagination. †

King James the Firſt.

Glanville on Witches, &c.

In other doubtful matters, the uſual way of deciding was by lot, in the following manner: They took ſlips of wood (made from ſome fruit-bearing tree) and marked them on either ſide; theſe (being huſſelled together) after a ſolemn prayer, were caſt out promiſcuouſly on a white garment ſpread for that purpoſe, and according to the number of marks lying uppermoſt, the degrees of fortune were thought to be more or leſs favourable.

Verſtegan.

Their eſtates did not deſcend to the eldeſt ſon only, but were fairly divided among all the male children of the deceaſed; from hence came the Kentiſh cuſtom of Gavelkind, antiently called *Give all kind*, that is each child his part.

Tacitus Deſcript. Germ.

The virgins married but once, neither had their men a plurality of wives, (except their nobles) and then only if the firſt wife was barren; for it was held a diſgrace to be without children; and though they are ſaid to have been ſo very rude and unpoliſhed in their manners, they were remarkably famed for their chaſte and decent deportment.

Verſteg n's Reſtitution of Decayed Intell. p. 38.

Sammes Brit. p. 460.

They began their buſineſs by the increaſe of the moon, and not when ſhe was on the wain, the courſe of which (ſays Verſtegan) they contrived to calculate and ſet down on ſquare pieces of wood, of a foot or two in length, from whence he derives the word *Almanack*, theſe being called Al-mon-haȝht, which is Al-mon-hede, ſignifying to regard, or look to the courſe of the moon. But Sammes rejects this interpretation, ſaying, "Who knoweth not that Almanac is a word of Arabick compoſition, from which language we borrow many words both in Aſtronomy and Chymiſtry, as Nadir and Zenith in the firſt, and Alchimy, Alembic, &c. in the ſecond, made up of Greek, and the Arabick particle *Al*." But though Sammes cavils with the word, (abuſing poor Verſtegan for his miſtake) yet this manner of calculating is by no means to be taken from our anceſtors, which cuſtom yet continues in Staffordſhire, where the people uſe clogs, or perpetual almanacks, exactly like thoſe deſcribed by Verſtegan. *

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* It was performed in this manner: The ſuſpected parties were thrown into a deep water, with a rope about their middle; if they ſunk they were held innocent, but if they ſwam, they were without further conſideration hurried before a juſtice, and their warrant being made out with all ſpeed, the wretches were ſent to priſon in order to take their trials.

† See a full account of the antient ordeals, with the prayers and invocations made uſe of on thoſe occaſions, in Hollingſhead's Chronicle, page 98, of the Deſcription of Britain, at the end of vol. I.

Dr. Plott's Stafford-ſhire.

The following account of the antient Saxon months, with the interpretation of them, is from Verſtegan :

Wolꝼ-Monaꞇ,	because in this month the wolves were moſt fierce and dangerous.	January.
Spꞃouꞇ-Kele,	from the ſprouting out of the *kele wort,* the greateſt pot herb of the antient Saxons.	February.
Lencꞇ-Monaꞇ,	from the lengthening of the days.	March.
Oꞅꞇeꞃ-Monaꞇ,	either from the eaſterly winds that generally blow this month, or from a goddeſs named Eoꞅꞇeꞃ.	April.
Tꞃı-Mılkı,	becauſe in this month they began to milk their kine three times a day.	May.
Weẏꝺ-Monaꞇ,	Engliſh *wade,* becauſe in this month they turned their cattle into the marſhes and meadows.	June.
heu-Monaꞇ, or heẏ-Monaꞇ,	hay month.	July.
Aꞃn-Monaꞇ; or Baꞃn-Monaꞇ,	from their gathering their harveſt into barns.	Auguſt.
Geꞃꞅꞇ-Monaꞇ,	Geꞃꞅꞇ, the name of barley, which is ſo called from beer, antiently named **Beer leigh,** and afterwards **Berlegh,** and ſo by corruption barley.	September.
Wẏn-Monaꞇ,	wine month.	October.
Wınꞇ-Monaꞇ,	wind month, from the frequent ſtorms of wind that generally happen in this month.	November.
Wınꞇeꞃ-Monaꞇ,	winter month.	December.

They did not reckon their time by years, but by winters, as was alſo practiſed among the Anglo-Saxons, in this manner:

Soðlıce Abꞃaham leoꝼoꝺe an hund ƿınꞇꞃa. ⁊ ꝼıꝼ ⁊ hund ꞅeoꝼonꞇıᵹ ƿınꞇꞃa. ⁊ he ꝼoꞃðꝼenꝺe on ᵹoꝺꞃe ẏlꝺe.

Now Abraham lived a hundred winters, and five and ſeventy winters, and he died in a good old age.

Ex MS. apud Bib. Cott.—Inſig. Claudius, B. iv. fol. 41.

Mr. Sherringham alſo quotes an old Saxon MS. to the ſame purpoſe. Neither did they count by days, but by nights, as

Cılꝺ bınnan þꞃẏꞇꞇıᵹum nıhꞇa ꞅẏᵹeꝼulƿaꝺ.

A child within thirty nights *(after its birth)* ſhall be baptized.

De Anglorum Gentis Origine, page 329.

2d law of Ina

Of their Religion, Idols, &c.

Their religion was paganiſm and idolatry; among their gods, *Thor* was held the ehief; he was the ſon of *Woden,* who firſt brought the Saxons into Germany; it is reported of this *Woden* that he was a great and warlike man, who never fought a battle but he gained the victory, or undertook any difficult enterprize but he ſurmounted it. In order to make himſelf the more reſpected by his followers; it is ſaid that he had two ravens ſo cunningly taught, that they would fly abroad and at their return always perch upon his ſhoulders, putting their beaks to his ears, as if whiſpering to him; thoſe he pretended, brought

Sammes' Antiq. & Orig of the Saxons.

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* See a deſcription of theſe clogs, and how they are uſed, with a print of one of them, in Dr. Plott's Nat. Hiſt. of Staffordſhire, page 419.

brought him information of whatever was doing in the moſt diſtant parts of the world. * By ſuch means as theſe he conſtantly deceived the ignorant people; which was no very hard taſk in thoſe dark times, when their eyes were ſo miſerably blinded with the worſt of errors and ſuperſtitions.

Whenever he ſent his men to battle, or made them acquainted with any dangerous adventure he was about to undertake, he laid his hands on their heads (by way of bleſſing,) which ceremony being finiſhed, they ſet forward with the greateſt courage; readily undertaking the moſt dangerous enterprizes; and in all perils they called on his name with the greateſt confidence, faithfully relying on the hopes of his protection and aſſiſtance, He is alſo greatly famed for his knowledge in magic, the which he was by many of them held the inventor of. So well verſed do they report him to have been in this myſtical ſcience, as to ſtrike fear and terrour into the ſouls of his moſt daring oppoſers; and by incantations and charms, to blunt the edges of their ſwords, and render them uſeleſs.

Speed's Chron.

The induſtrious Speed, has given us from Adam Bremanſis, the following account of a Saxon temple, erected in honour of their three principal gods; *Thor*, *Woden*, and *Frea*, wife to *Woden*. “ In a temple (ſays he,) in their native and vulgar ſpeech called *Ubſola*, which was all wrought with gold, the people worſhip the ſtatues of three gods, in the following manner: *Thor* the mightieſt of them, hath only a throne or bed; on either hand of him *Woden* and *Friſco* hold their places. And this is the ſignification of them; *Thor*, ſay they, beareth rule in the air, and governeth the thunder, lightning, winds, ſhowers, fair weather, corn, and the fruits of the earth. The ſecond *Woden*, that is ſtrongeſt, maketh wars, and miniſtreth manly valour againſt the enemies. The third is *Friſco*, beſtowing largely upon mortal men, peace, and pleaſure, whoſe image they repreſented with a large priapus. *Woden* is ſeen armed like the *Mars* of the Romans.”

Verſtegan Reſt. of decayed Int. chap. 3d. & Sammes's Brit.

But beſides theſe they had a variety of other deities, as the ſun, the moon, *Tuiſco* and *Seater*, who, with the three foregoing, gave the names of the week days; there are ſtill more mentioned by both Verſtegan and Sammes.

Their Navigation.

Argyſippus

It has been remarked already, that the ancient Saxons lived chiefly by their piracies on the borders of the northern ſeas. And it is very ſtrange that they ſhould have been ſo formidable, when we conſider, that their boats were of the ſame ſlight conſtruction with thoſe of the Britons, (before ſpoken of) this is, of ſkins, ſtretched over a light frame of wood. Sidonius Apollinaris ſpeaks of them thus,

Sidonius Apollinaris

> “ Quin & *Aremoricus* piratam *Saxona* tractus
> Sperabat, cui pelle ſalum ſulcare *Britannum*
> Ludus, & aſſuto glaucum mare findere lembo.”

Their

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* And from this reaſon the Danes bore a raven on their ſtandards, as is mentioned by moſt hiſtorians.

Their Habits, &c.

Tacitus deſcribes their habit as “ a kind of caſſock, called *ſagum*, claſped before, or for want of a claſp, faſtened with a thorn. And beſide this (ſays my author) they have no garment to hide their nakedneſs, except the richer ſort; who diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the more common, by wearing a garment different from theirs, which were not like thoſe worn by the *Sarmates* and *Parthians*, wide and open but ſtrait, and ſhewing the juſt proportion of the body. They alſo wore *pelts*, or a ſort of garment made of beaſts ſkins: the dreſs of the men and women differing, in that the women wore linen robes, interlaced and trimmed with purple, without ſleeves, their arms bare, and their boſoms uncovered.”

Deſcrip. Germ.

But Paul Diaconus, in his deſcription of the *Long Bords*, compares them to the Saxons, “ who (ſays he) wear large looſe gowns, or caſſocks, moſtly of linen, trimmed and ſet out with very broad guards, or welts, parflet and embroidered with various different colours, the richer ſort wearing pearls. Their hair they ſet up in thin rings, or hoop of copper, on the crown of their heads, and from thence it fell curling on their ſhoulders.”

P. Diaconus

And from Sidonius Apollinaris we learn that they ſhaved their temples, leaving a tuft of hair on the crown, which they ſet upright with copper hoops.

Sidon. Apol.

Witichindus tells us, that their men were habited in ſoldiers caſſocks, and armed with long ſpears, confiding much in a ſmall ſhield, that they bore at their backs.

Witichind.

Verſtegan, and Speed, &c. inform us, that they made uſe of croſs bows [*]; but I doubt they have not good authority for this aſſertion, as it neither appears in any antient hiſtory, or delineation, that they were ever known to the Saxons.

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[*] “ The croſs bow they had in great uſe in war.” Verſtegan, page 56. Their weapons were long ſpears, broad ſwords, and croſs bows. Speed's Chronicle, page 202.

THE END OF THE ANTIENT SAXON ÆRA.

OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS, UNTILL THE DANISH CONQUEST, under KING CNUTE.

Their Fortifications, &c.

HAVING already ſaid as much as is neceſſary, concerning the fortifications made uſe of by the Romans in Britain, I now come to the Saxons; and will endeavour, as clearly as poſſible, to explain and ſet forth, the alterations made by them in thoſe remaining Roman camps, &c. which they never neglected to ſeize into their own hands, and fortify according to their own faſhions. We have ſeen that the Romans threw up high vallums, (or banks of earth) pitching their camps therein: but the Saxons raiſed the whole ſurface of their ſtation above the common level of the earth, in the ſhape of a keep, (or low flat hill;) and this keep, inſtead of banks of earth, was ſurrounded by a ſtrong thick wall, within which, were built the ſtations for the ſoldiers, &c. without, round the whole work was made a deep broad ditch, encompaſſed with a ſtrong vallum of earth, on which was built an exterior wall turretted, after the faſhion of the Romans.

Plate 2. No. 3, & 4. repreſents the plan and perſpective view of the remaining ground-work of a Saxon caſtle, yet to be ſeen at Maldon, in the County of Eſſex; and by hiſtorians reported to have been conſtructed by Edward the elder, when he rebuilt the town of Maldon.

Chron. Mariani Scot. See Camden's Eſſex.

Though this fortification is eaſily traced out, yet the out-works are not quite ſo perfect as that below it, No. 5, and 6. So that for want of proper examination, it has generally been ſaid to be Roman; but it will very eaſily be proved to be Saxon, both from its being like the caſtles of that people raiſed into a keep, and from the breadth of the ditch; which (though narrower than that at Witham, No. 5, and 6.) greatly exceeds thoſe of the Roman conſtruction, even of a much more extenſive fortification: and on theſe two circumſtances are grounded the ſure criterion by which the earth-works of the Roman and Saxon fortifications are to be diſtinguiſhed from each other.

A (fig. 3.) is the keep which was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and within which, were the appartments of the garriſon: its breadth is about 220 yards, and its length 290. B is the ditch, about 20 yards in breadth; at C is the imperfect remains of the outer vallum (or bank of earth) which has been greatly dug down to make room for the plough; but at D it is yet in a very perfect ſtate, in ſome places full 4 feet high.

Fig. 4. is the perſpective view of the ſame, ſuppoſing all obſtacles removed.

The ground-work of another of theſe Saxon Caſtles, is yet remaining at Witham, being between the church and the town, the form and ſize of it are yet very viſible; this caſtle was likewſe built by Edward the elder, (who reſided at the Caſtle at Maldon while this was compleating) which was about the year 912 or 914. The middle circle A (plate 2. fig. 5.) contains the keep or caſtle, and is about 160 yards in diameter, and 486 yards round; the ditch B, is now much filled up with the digging down of the keep, and is in its preſent ſtate 260 feet in breadth; beyond the ditch is the external vallum, which is yet in a very perfect condition full 4 feet high, and 18 or 20 feet in breadth; the circumference of the whole is about 1000 yards. Where the external vallum is broke off at D, there is a ſteep precipice down to a river, ſo that here the ditch ſeems only to be a common ſurface of earth below the keep; but this has been effected in labouriouſly digging down the external vallum, for the more eaſy ploughing up the ground round about it. Fig. 6, repreſents the perſpective of the ſame, the trees, hedges, &c. taken away.

See London in Eſſex. H. Hunt. lib. v. in Vita Edwardi

The general form of the ground-work of theſe Saxon Caſtles were round, though they were often varied according to the nature and ſituation of the place where they were erected. That at Maldon (above deſcribed) could not well be round, on account of the ſteepneſs and ſudden declivity of the hill (at the north weſt ſide) on the brow of which (to make the fortification more ſtrong and inacceſible) it was built.

I have alſo for the better explanation of theſe caſtles, ſubjoined a view of *Caſtle Chun*, in Cornwall, with the deſcription of it, from the learned Mr. Borlaſe's hiſtory of that county.

Mr. Borlaſe's Hiſt. & Antiq. of Cornwall.

" Coming to the entrance W. S. W. where having paſſed the ditch A, you enter the outmoſt wall G, five feet thick at M, which is called the iron gateway, and leave on the left hand, the wall 12 feet thick for the ſtrengthening the entrance; on the right there is a wall K, which traverſes the principal ditch B B, thirty feet wide till it reaches within 3 feet of the principal wall C, (8 feet thick at the preſent top, but in the foundation thicker) then turns away parrallel to it, to L, leaving a narrow paſſage 3 feet wide as a communication betwixt the entrance Q and the ditch K, B, H; the entrance Q flanked on the right by the wall K, and on the left by an oppoſite wall I, admits you by the paſſage O, through the great wall C, into ſeveral lodgments that are formed by a circular line of ſtone-work E, E, E, about 3 feet high, parallel to the wall C, and ſeveral partitions N, N, N, ſpring as it were, from the center of the whole work, and reaching from the line E, to the principal wall C; theſe diviſions are all 30 feet wide, but of unequal bigneſs. The Area within theſe works is 125 feet from E. to W. and 110 from N. to S.

The principal foſſe, B, has four traverſes, two K and I, which ſecure the entrance, and two more H, H, which divide the remaining part of the foſſe into three equal parts. At F, there is a well which has ſteps to go down to the water. By the ruins of theſe walls, I judge that the outermoſt wall could not be leſs than 10 feet high, and the innermoſt about 15, but rather more, and both walls well perfected." Thus far Mr. Borlaſe, from whoſe following obſervations, this appears rather to have been a temporary camp, than a fixed ſtation of the Saxons. We find that antiently the Anglo-Saxons uſed to fortify theſe camps, much on the ſame plan with the camps of the Romans, ſetting thick rows of palliſadoes, or ſtrong ſtakes, on the vallums of earth. Ella firſt king of Diera

Scala Chronica.

Camden's Brit.

(a diviſion of Northumberland) built the caſtle of Bamborough with ſtrong wooden pales, which Ida ſoon after (according to the Scala Chronica) cauſed to be walled round with ſtone : and *Old Bale* in Yorkſhire (according to Camden was firſt fortified with thick planks of wood, 18 feet in length, but was afterwards encompaſſed about with a wall of ſtone. Theſe ſtones are generally by the hiſtorians called *four ſquare ſtones,* and are ſo ſtiled by Wm. of Malmſbury, where he ſpeaks of the rebuilding of Exeter by Athelſtan.

Wm. of Malmſbury de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, Caput vi.

"Urbem igitur illam, quam contaminatæ gentis repurgio defæcaverat, turribus munivit, muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit."

But from every remaining antiquity we find, that the walls of their fortifications were only faced with theſe four ſquare ſtones, (both within and without) and the intermediate ſpace between the facings filled up with rubble, or rough flint ſtones, mixed together with a ſtrong and permanent cement.

Camden in Eſſex.

There yet remains at Colcheſter (in the county of Eſſex) a curious old caſtle, which was built by Edward the Elder, when he repaired the walls and re-edified the town, in the beginning of the tenth century.

Its form is four ſquare, (ſee plate 3.) flanked at the four corners with ſtrong towers, and it is about 224 yards in circumference on the outſide, all projections and winding included ; the four ſides nearly face the four cardinal points.

The firſt foundation is ſtrongly made of large pebbles rudely mixed with bricks, (moſt of which are Roman) and held together with a firm cement ; and where this foundation was cut through to make an entrance at the N. E. corner, it was found to be near thirty feet thick : this kind of rude work is continued, without any facing, to about nine feet, more or leſs, above the preſent ſurface of the ground, and on it is laid a double row of freeſtone quite round the whole caſtle ; then on this double layer of ſtone are the walls of the caſtle erected, the workmanſhip of which is, though rude, much more regular than that of the foundation. It conſiſts of a layer of ſquare freeſtone, and a layer of bricks, (chiefly Roman) alternately ſucceeding each other ; and thus it is continued to the preſent top, which is not near ſo high as it was in its original ſtate ; the corners of the baſtions and towers of the caſtle were all originally faced with ſquare ſtone, much of which remains yet viſible, notwithſtanding the repeated ſhocks it has undergone. The main wall is about 21 feet thick at the bottom, and at the top near 13 feet and a half.

The principal entrance A, (ſee the ichnography plate 3,) is on the ſouth ſide of the caſtle. through an elegant ſtone door-way arched over, but of later date than the caſtle itſelf ; firſt, becauſe it is too perfect to have ſtood ſo many ages ; and next, becauſe the ſtile of architecture is much more modern, and does not in the leaſt accord with the ſimpler conſtruction of the reſt of the caſtle.

On the inſide of the caſtle there ran antiently N. & S. two ſtrong walls (B & C) parallel with the walls of the caſtle, dividing it into three equal parts, making partitions and ſupport for the apartments. The eaſtermoſt (C) yet remains, but the weſtern (B) is almoſt entirely taken down. The wall (C) now ſtanding is compoſed of pebbles and bricks intermixed in herring-bone faſhion.

The principal lodgings were at the uppermoſt part of the caſtle, two chimnies yet remaining on the eaſt, (D D) and two on the weſt, (E E) which anſwer on the inſide to the ſmall projections or baſtions on the outſide of the E. & W. walls ; at the ſouth corner, on the left hand of the entrance, is the grand ſtaircaſe F, full nine feet broad, containing a flight of 58 ſteps, going up which you come to the apartments G, yet remaining on the South ſide, where there is a handſome chapel, in which formerly duty was done, and an elegant library fitted up by Charles Gray, Eſq; the preſent owner, (and under that a large vault arched, now uſed as the priſon ;) from thence ſtill mounting higher, the ſtaircaſe leads you to the battlements, where you might formerly have paſſed round the whole work, a paſſage being made in the breadth of the wall at the top; ſee the ſection of the top of the wall. (plate 2. No. 1. fig. 1.) which being 13 ½ feet thick, is thus divided : the outermoſt part (A) is at preſent but four feet high, and four ½ feet thick ; the paſſage (B) is full two yards wide, and the inſide part (C) which you look over into the caſtle, is 3 ½ feet high, and 3 feet thick. At three of the corners are ſquare towers or baſtions, every one of which had a ſtaircaſe in it, and, as is reported, a turret or round top, (not much unlike the preſent modern one.) On the ſouth eaſt corner, where there is the round baſtion, it is ſuppoſed that there was no turret, as no marks of a ſtaircaſe have ever been diſcovered.

I could not learn for certainty whether the top of the wall had been garretted or not, though an old man, who happened to be there when I was, informed me that he remembered ſomething like embattlements at the top before it was ſo ſhamefully abuſed, great part of which were forced down with ſcrews and gunpowder, and ſo falling down on the walls and vaults below, made lamentable havock and devaſtation, to the eternal ſhame of the deſpicable perpetrators, as it is to the great praiſe and honour of the preſent worthy owner, who takes great pains to repair and preſerve this valuable antiquity.

All the arches of the chimnies, windows, &c. are perfectly round, and in the inſide turned with thin bricks, or rather a ſort of pamment ; the windows, which are faced with ſtone without, are very ſmall and long, but increaſing in ſize through the thickneſs of the wall, they appear very large on the inſide, (ſee the ſection and view of the windows, plate 2. No. 1. fig. 2 &3.)

The chimnies are very curiouſly carried obliquely through the wall to the top, (ſee the arch of the chimney, plate 2. No. 1. fig. 4. and the ſection ibid fig. 5.) and leſt the wall ſhould thereby be weakened, buttreſſes or baſtions were added on the outſide of each chimney to ſtrengthen and ſecure it.

There was originally no door but the ſouth entrance, except a ſmall ſally-port on the north, for the other entrances have been with great labour cut out of the ſolid walls. It was ſurrounded with the ditch H, H, H, H, full 30 yards wide (ſee the plan, plate 3.) and an external vallum I, I, I, on which was erected a ſtrong wall, the foundation of it yet being quite viſible upon the vallum, which is very perfect towards the N. & W. ſides, but on the N. E. has been much dug away, ſo that it is impoſſible to determine whether the communication between the exterior gate on the vallum, and the door of the caſtle, was kept up by means of a draw-bridge over the ditch, or a regular cauſeway walled off, like that above deſcribed of *Caſtle Chun* in Cornwall.

Underneath the caſtle are ſpacious vaults, turned with ſtone, the ſupports of which are in the form of a croſs ; and I am with certainty informed, that they went at leaſt from end to end of the caſtle ;* but going down into them, I could not get above half that length, for one of the moſt ſpacious vaults, together with a fine well that is in it, were deſtroyed in the attempt of John Wheely to beat down the caſtle walls.

It

* The fooliſh ſtory of a paſſage under ground from this caſtle to that at Hedingham, is alſo told here.—See the Account of Hedingham Caſtle in the Norman Fortifications.

Camden in Eſſex.

Morant Hiſt of Eſſex.

It now remains to ſay ſomewhat concerning the antiquity of this venerable ruin: Some have called it Roman; others ſay that it is Britiſh, and was the palace of king Coel, who built and gave the name of Colcheſter to the town. But Camden and moſt others ſeem to attribute it to the Saxons. A modern writer indeed has boldly declared, that "the caſtle as it now ſtands was undoubtedly built ſince the Norman Conqueſt," but does not give the leaſt ſhadow of a reaſon, or the ſlighteſt authority for this aſſertion.

I do not, I own, much wonder that it ſhould have often paſſed for Roman, becauſe the Roman method of building is much preſerved in it: the foundation (which is raiſed on ſand) is made of pebbles, flints, bricks, &c. rudely mixed together with cement, like that deſcribed at Cheſterford, (page 15) and on this (as has been above mentioned) is raiſed the main works, faced with large pebbles and ſquare ſtones mixed together, and theſe alternately intermixed with layers of bricks, moſt of which are evidently Roman, and on the inſide the arches of the windows, chimnies, &c. are turned with flat broad bricks, after the ſtile of the Romans; and the walls are chiefly of the herring-bone faſhion, that is, a row of flat bricks ſet obliquely from the right to the left, ſucceeded by an oblique row from the left to the right; in which faſhion the walls of the city of Rome are ſaid to have been built; from theſe appearances, a perſon ſlightly ſurveying it, may eaſily be led to conclude it to be of Roman conſtruction; but I hope the following obſervations, founded on a ſtrict examination of the caſtle itſelf, will be thought ſufficient to prove it otherwiſe:

See page

Camden's Brit.

See alſo Stukeley's Carauſius, vol. I. p. 132

Firſt, the Romans never uſed ſuch facings as are here mentioned, the walls of their fortifications were (as is deſcribed by Dr. Woodward) made of rubble ſtone and cement, with layers of brick at certain ſtated diſtances; or elſe they were built entirely of ſquare ſtones, without cement and rubble ſtone, like the temple of Carauſius, on the borders of Scotland, "which was framed with ſquare rough ſtones without lime, having the upper part ſo tenanted into the nether, that the whole work ſtill riſing narrower, ſupported itſelf by a mutual interlacing."

Secondly, the Romans were very exact in the meaſure and diſtances of their layers of bricks from each other, not only in the walls of the ſame ſtation all round it, but in all their ſtations; keeping to the moſt regular method: ſo that going from one ſtation to another, and meaſuring the diſtances on the walls of either, both ſhall be found exactly to agree. Now here there are ſeveral of the Roman methods of building cramm'd into one edifice, but that without the leaſt regularity or order; the layers of bricks not only not running ſtrait, but often diſcontinued, and the diſtances between them frequently differing 2 or 3 feet.

Thirdly, That though many of the bricks are certainly Roman, yet the arches of the windows, &c. are turned with a ſort of pamment, differing not only in form but in thickneſs and ſize, from any ever made uſe of by the Romans.

I will not in the leaſt pretend to contradict the conjectures that have been ſtarted of its ſtanding on the very foundation of a Roman fort, which in the days of Edward the Elder might have beeh ruinated and decayed, and he making uſe of the old materials as far as they would go, erected a new edifice on the ſpot of the former, ſurrounding it with a wide ditch, which was a conſtant cuſtom with the Saxons, together with an external bank or vallum, the evident remains of which yet plainly appear.

On the other hand, it is ſaid to have been built on the remains of the manſion of Coel, the Britiſh king, who built the town of Colcheſter. "Coillus filius Marii, ab infantia Roma nutritus regnavit apud Britannos, qui tributum Romanis ſolvit et vitam pacificam duxit. Ferunt nonnulli urbem Colceſtriam quæ caput eſt Eſtſaxonum, ab eo fundatam." Polichronichon lib. iv. And as this man was educated at Rome, it is not in the leaſt ſurpriſing that he ſhould follow their faſhions and cuſtoms. But whether it was this Coel, or him whoſe daughter was afterwards married to Conſtantius, who firſt built the caſtle, or whether built by neither, is of little ſignification to the building as it now ſtands.

But it ſeems to me very abſurd to ſuppoſe it, as it is at preſent, to be of Norman conſtruction, for it is every way different both in form and materials, from the plan of building made uſe of by that people; and this aſſertion the many numerous authentic remains of their fortifications, &c. in this kingdom will fully prove and juſtify; which I hope will be done to the ſatisfaction of the reader in the diſcourſe concerning the fortifications of the Normans.

The Weapons, warlike Habits, &c. of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

Of their ſoldiers, weapons, &c. I ſhall not have occaſion to ſay much; as I have with great care collected ſuch authentic repreſentations of them from their own delineations, as will convey a much more ſatisfactory idea of them than the beſt deſcription that can be given,

We find them armed with long broad ſwords, double edged; (and not crooked like thoſe deſcribed by Verſtegan,) long ſpears; ſome of which were barbed and others were flat and broad.

Their ſhields were generally of a midling ſize, for the moſt part oval and always convex, having frequently a point projecting from the middle: they had alſo battle axes, (plate 4. fig. 6.) See pl. iv. & v. & pl. xx. fig. 7. 7. 7. which (ſays Verſtegan) they called bills, and from thence, (adds he) we have retained the name to this day. The Watchmen, &c. about a century and a half ago, About this time Verſtegan wrote. had a kind of hatchets, which were called bills. But the croſs bows given to the Saxons by the ſame author, do not occur in any of the Saxon delineations that I have ſeen; from whence, as well as from the ſilence of the old hiſtorians on this particular; I hope I may conclude with great juſtice, that they were not uſed among them. And though they had common bows and arrows, (ſee plate 17. fig. 2.) Yet, from the words of J. Rouſe the antiquary, Plate xx. fig. 10. 10. & 11. John Rouſe. we may conclude that they only uſed them for their paſtimes: for ſpeaking of the battle of Haſtings, he tells us, that "the Normans had the victory, eſpecially by means of their wooden bows and "arrows, which the Engliſh had not then in uſe."

They fought with their ſwords and ſhields like the gladiators of the Romans. Their armour appears to be, at beſt, but very ſlight; but in the very early MSS. they do not appear to have any armour at all; Witichindus alſo tells us, that they confided much in the ſhields that they carried with them.

The figure (plate 4. fig. 5.) ſeems indeed, to be habited in a kind of mail, not unlike the ancient Norman coats of mail, which were called ſcaly, from the reſemblance they bore to the ſcales of a fiſh: See more of this in vol. 2. they were made of ſmall pieces of iron of an inch diameter, rounding off at the bottom, and theſe were ſet on a ſtrong garment over each other, ſo that the garment would bend with the greateſt eaſe, and at the ſame time, the iron ſcales would conſtantly cover each other very ſecurely.

The figures (plate 4. fig. 6, & 7.) are repreſented in another kind of mail, (if it is the coat of mail) not unlike that which continued very long in uſe with the Normans, and was compoſed of ſtrong wires cloſely interwoven with each other, like fine wicker; with this the ſoldiers were clothed from the head to the foot: but in the preſent two figures, the ſhape of it is much more like the body armour of the Romans, ending at the bottom of the ſtomach, and a little below the ſhoulders, to give the arms full play. At this time, perhaps the Saxons had not the art of making the mail ſo flexible as might be required on the arms and legs, for which reaſon they were obliged to confine it to the body only. The difference of armour in the preſent figures, from that above-deſcribed (fig. 5.) may ariſe from that figure's repreſenting the Chief or King. In the original it is intended for Abraham, who is there pictured attended by his armour-bearer, fighting againſt the five kings, to reſcue his brother Lot (who had been taken priſoner by them.) He wears a crown on his head, as an emblem of ſuperiority and chief command. According to Verſtegan, the crown was anciently called "Cininᵹꞅ-helme, that is to ſay, *king's-crown*, whereby (continues he) it may appeare that the crowns of the moſt ancient Engliſh-Saxon kings were worne and uſed by them for the helmet in warre; and that it may be, that the crowns of all kings were at firſt intended for their helmets, and made of different faſhion from other helmets, for the more ornament of their princely perſons that wore them, who were by them to be knowne, reſpected and reverenced."

Gen. ch. 14. verſ. 15.

Verſtegan, Reſtitution of Decayed Ant. p. 215.

The helmets, or caps of the common ſoldiers, do not ſeem to be any thing more than the thick ſkin of ſome beaſt, with the hair turned outwards. The ſoldier (plate 4. fig. 5.) who is doubtleſs one of the officers, is perfectly equipt, according to the Saxon method, and has evidently an helmet on his head, tho' very different from thoſe worn by the kings. See the different crowns and helmets, plate 21.

See pl. 4. & 5.

The arms of the Saxon kings and nobles were often very rich and magnificent; the hilts of their ſwords curiouſly wrought with gold, and ſtudded with jewels; their ſhields and helmets alſo in like manner elegantly ornamented, and inlaid with gold and precious ſtones.

The banners, or enſigns, alſo, that were borne before them to the battle, and on other occaſions, were generally grand and magnificent. Hengiſt and Horſa, according to Verſtegan, had on their arrival from Germany, a banner borne before them, on which was wrought the repreſentation of a white horſe: and over the tomb of *Oſwald* was laid an enſign of purple and gold. And in the time of Elfred, was taken the famous ſtandard of the Danes, called *Reafen*, on which (ſays Speed) was the picture of a raven, curiouſly wrought by the three ſiſters of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, daughters to Lothbrock the Dane: add to theſe the banner of Harold the Second, on which was repreſented the figure of an armed man in a fighting attitude, curiouſly wrought in gold, and ſumptuouſly ornamented with precious ſtones: ſee the form of an ancient ſtandard, (plate xx. fig. 4.) which is richly decorated with jewels down the middle.

Henᵹiꞅꞇ & Hoꞃꞅa both ſignify a horſe in Verſtegan, p. 121.

Bede Ecc. hiſt. lib. 3. cap. xi.

Speed's Chron.

Anciently banners were (either from their being compoſed of ſome religious relick, or from the repreſentation which they were made to bear of holy things) held ſacred, and much ſuperſtitious faith placed in them. Arthur, (the Britiſh Kings,) when he fought the eighth battle againſt the Saxons, carried the "image of Chriſt, and of the bleſſed Mary (always a Virgin) upon his ſhoulders."

Ninnius Hiſt. Brit. cap. 93.

And the Danes placed great faith in their *reaſen*, becauſe it bore the figure of a raven, which, with them, was eſteemed ſacred and holy: for this cauſe alſo, the honour of taking the banner was eſteemed the greater; on the contrary, to thoſe that loſt them it was not only a great diſgrace, but an unlucky and dreadful omen. Standards and banners were not confined to the ſervice of war alone, but were alſo uſed by the prieſts, on particular occaſions, in the beginning of Chriſtianity.

When St. Auguſtine firſt came to preach the Chriſtian faith to the Saxons, he had a croſs born before him, with a banner, on which was the image of our Saviour Chriſt. And Edwin king of Northumberland was in ſuch eſteem, "that he cauſed a banner to be borne before him, not only in time of war, but in time of peace, while he rode from city to city, (to ſee a proper adminiſtration of juſtice,) which banner was called by the Romans *tuſan*, but by the Saxons, thƿꝼ." Tufa, according to Speed, is ſuppoſed to mean a ball, or globe, and to be an emblem of ſovereignty.

Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 25.

Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 16.

Croſſes were alſo erected by many of the Chriſtian kings before a battle or great enterprize, with prayers and ſupplications, for the aid and aſſiſtance of Almighty God. Oſwald cauſed a croſs of wood to be erected before he fought with Cadwallo, himſelf holding it till the earth was rammed in round about it, while all his ſoldiers kneeled down devoutly. Alſo before any great or deciſive undertaking, they would viſit the ſhrine of ſome particular ſaint, and there vow great donations to the monaſtery in which it was contained in caſe they returned victorious. Thus Athelſtan in his journey to the north, (where the kings of Scotland and Wales, were commiting depredations and ravaging the country) viſited the tomb of St. John of Beverley, where earneſtly ſupplicating for ſucceſs, and not having any thing worthy enough with him to preſent to the Saint, he left his knife on the tomb, vowing that if he returned victorious, to redeem it with a worthy price, which he faithfully afterwards performed.

Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 2.

Their tents were of a very plain and ſimple conſtruction, being only lines ſtretched from the top of a ſtrong pole, and faſtened to wooden hooks driven into the ground, which from the appearance of theſe tents, in the delineation (ſee plate 5, fig. 2. and 3.) I ſhould fancy were covered over with a thick and ſtrong cloth, or leather; on the top is a roof or guard, ſloping either way (like the ridge of a houſe,) to prevent the rain from entering. To ſome of their tents, they had a door properly cut out, but others were entered into by pulling the covering aſide each way (fig. 4. and 5. plate 5.) exhibits both ſorts.

I do not know whether I may not with juſtice add to theſe arms and appurtenances of war a ſort of chariot, not unlike thoſe that we ſee on the coins and bas-reliefs of the Romans: it is drawn by two horſes that run a breaſt (ſee plate 5. fig. 6.) and ſeems chiefly to be uſed by perſons, who from their furious appearance and often being armed, may be thought to bear ſome analogy with war and diſturbance; the preſent figure though unarmed, repreſents one of the vices who is furiouſly combating with prudence. Perhaps it may be eſteemed too bold to ſay, that this is the faint traces of the old Britiſh Eſſedum, (mentioned by Cæſar) but if we conſider, that neither in Tacitus nor any other antient author, is the leaſt mention of ſuch chariots being uſed by the Germans: it may not be held improbable but that the Saxons might, among various other things, have learned the conſtruction of theſe chariots from the Britons. I am aware of what Tacitus hath told us concerning the Germans, that on their

Tacit. Def. Germ.

learning from the Romans the uſe of coined money, they always preferred thoſe which had the reſemblance of a chariot and two horſes ſtamp'd upon them: but it ſhould then be remembered, that the Germans had a ſacred chariot dedicated to the iſland goddeſs, and placed great ſuperſtitious faith in horſes; ſo it is not in the leaſt ſurpriſing that they ſhould prefer thoſe that bore the images of their adoration. Yet I would not be underſtood to mean, that theſe chariots were ever in general uſe among the Saxons, but only that they had them, and on particular occaſions might uſe them, perhaps like the Britons, in light ſkirmiſhes to annoy the enemy.

In matters, which could not be eaſily determined, the uſual way of deciſion was (after the cuſtom of their anceſters) by Cemp-Fıᵹhꞇ, or ſingle combat, (which is repreſented in plate 5, fig, 2.) while the fighting parties were animated with the ſound of the horn, as alſo by the dancing and ſtrange geſtures of the by-ſtanders. Beſides this horn, they had a long trumpet, (plate 5, fig. 4.) which in the MS. is called ꞇuba and coꞃnıcınu, cuꞃa æꞃea, and in the interlined annotations, coꞃnu canen, coꞃnua æꞃea, by the ſide of the delineation is wrote.

Tubae Sılenꞇ Claꝺu Reconꝺunꞇuꞃ ın Vaᵹına.

" *When the trumpet ceaſes to ſound, the ſword is returned to the ſcabbard;*"

which agrees perfectly well with the character given to the Germans, by Tacitus and others. " No ſooner was the ſound of the warlike trumpet heard amongſt them, but the huſbandman leaving his plough in the field, catched up his arms and ruſhed with fury forth to the battle.

The antient method of knighting, (or permitting to bear arms) was (as has already been ſhewn) performed by giving a ſhield and lance to the party in the midſt of the elders aſſembled together for that purpoſe. But with the Anglo-Saxons knighthood was held in great honour, and many ceremonies requiſite. Edward the Elder himſelf made Athelſtan a knight, putting upon him a ſoldier's cloak of ſcarlet, and girding him round with a girdle ornamented with precious ſtones, from which there hung a Saxon ſword in a ſheath of gold. And the neceſſary ceremonies which were firſt to be gone through, are explained by Ingulphus, who tells us, that in the days of the Saxons (before the Norman Conqueſt, the making of a knight was after this manner: " The evening before the day of conſecration, he that was to be made a knight, was to make a full and penitent confeſſion of his ſins to the biſhop, abbot, or prieſt attending, and after receiving abſolution for the ſame, he ſhould continue all night in the church at prayer and pious devotion; and on the morrow, after hearing divine ſervice, he ſhould offer his ſword upon the altar, which when the prieſt had bleſſed upon the four goſpels, was hung with his benedicton on the neck of the party, who from that time forth was accounted a good and lawful knight; but this cuſtom of knighting was by the Normans utterly aboliſhed."

Wm. of Malmſbury. deGeſt.Reg. Ang. lib. 2. caput vi.

Ingul. Abb. Monaſ. Croyland, Hiſt. p. 512, &c.

Thus we find in ancient times the prieſts as well as the kings had power to create knights; but this we find alſo aboliſhed by the Normans, and the power confined to the king alone.

The

The Religious and Domeſtic Buildings of the SAXONS.

Our old anceſtors being entirely deficient in the knowledge of perſpective, the different drawings left by them of their temples, houſes, &c. cannot by any means convey ſo good an idea of ſuch their buildings as we could wiſh.

On their firſt arrival their minds were filled with war and deſtruction, and their thoughts too much engroſſed with eſtabliſhing for themſelves a firm and ſolid footing in the kingdom. In this early period the neatneſs and elegance of their ſtructures were conſiderations of too trifling moment; but on their being ſettled in the realm, the arts ſoon began to flouriſh, and were carried to a much greater length than they had ever been before in Britain. A chriſtian Saxon, whoſe name was Benedict, travelled to Rome, where becoming a monk, he tarried ſome time, but came over again with Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, (about the year of our Lord 668) and brought with him from Rome ſeveral curious artiſts, as *Glaziers, Painters*, and the like.

Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 4.
Wm. of Malmſbury
Ran. Ceſtren. lib. 1.

About this time too, according to Bede, ſinging was introduced into the churches, with muſic. The clergy alſo were well verſed in Greek and Latin, and learning was greatly eſteemed amongſt them.

See Camden, Hollingſhead, and Stow.

Wm. of Malmſbury informs us, that the firſt Chriſtian church which was built in Britain, was conſtructed with watlings or hurdles, interwoven with oſiers, or other pliable wood.

Wm. of Malmſbury Ant. of Glaſt. lib. 1.

The Saxons alſo (in the early time) built much with wood. Edwine (the firſt Chriſtian king of Northumberland) built a ſmall oratory of wood, (where he was baptized;) but afterwards began one on a much larger foundation, with ſtone, which included the building firſt erected. So Aldwine, biſhop of Durham, firſt built a ſmall oratory of wreathen wands and hurdles, (where the body of St. Cuthbert was for a time depoſited) but afterwards he cauſed a larger church of ſtone to be erected.

Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. xiv.
Wm. of Malmſbury de Geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. 1.

Their ſtone buildings were often beyond conception grand and magnificent, to compleat which no labour or expence was ſpared. Robert de Swapham, an author of good antiquity, ſaw the ſtones that compoſed the foundation of the church at Mediſhamſtede, (now called Peterborough) that was built by Peada, (the firſt Chriſtian king of Mercia) which ſtones were ſo large, that eight yoke of oxen could ſcarcely move any one of them.

See Girald. Cambrenſis.

It was cuſtomary to build their churches, monaſteries, &c. where the holy relicks of ſome Saint had been found, or where it was reported he had lived; or over the tomb of ſome martyr, or elſe where he had been martyriſed. The famous chapel of Ina at Glaſtenbury, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, is reported to have been built over the very ſpot on which formerly ſtood the cell of Joſeph of Arimathea. The amazing richneſs and grandeur of this building, is ſcarce to be conceived, Malmſbury gives us the following account of it: "The ſame king (Ina) built alſo a chapel of gold and ſilver, with ornaments and vaſes of the ſame; for the conſtruction of the chapel 2680 pounds of ſilver; the altar was made of 264 pounds of gold; the cup with the patena was of 10 pounds of gold; the cenſor of 8 pounds 20 *mancis** of gold; the candleſticks of 12 pounds and ½ of ſilver; the covers of the book of the holy goſpel 20 pounds 40 mancis of gold; the veſſels for water, and other veſſels for the al-

Wm. of Malmſbury, Ant. Glaſt.

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* A ſmall weight of about 14 grains.

tar, of 17 pounds of gold; the veſſel to waſh in of 8 pounds of gold; and that which contained the holy water, of 20 pounds of ſilver; the images of Chriſt and the bleſſed virgin, together with thoſe of the twelve apoſtles, of 175 pounds of ſilver, and 38 pounds of gold. The pall for the altar, as alſo the ſacred habits for the prieſts, were interwoven with gold, and richly ornamented with precious ſtones. The materials of which amazing ſtructure, with the ornaments, amounted to upwards of 365 pounds of gold, and 2887 ½ pounds of ſilver.

Ingul. Abb. Monaſ. Croyland, Hiſt. p. 485, B.

Ethelbald, king of Mercia, being deſirous to build the church at Croyland with ſtone, which had formerly been built by St. Guthlac with wood, found the ground ſo hollow and ſpungey, as to be unable to bear the weight of a ſtone building; to remedy this he cauſed vaſt piles of oak to be made, and driven down, with a large quantity of ſolid earth rammed round about them, which was brought in little boats from the uplands, which were nine miles diſtant; and by this means they compleated a firm and ſolid foundation.

The next thing that falls under our conſideration will be the materials that were uſed by the Anglo-Saxons.

Their large and ſtately edifices are generally ſaid by hiſtorians to have been built with ſquare ſtones, but thoſe of the inferior ſort were only faced at the corners with them.

See Hearne's Preface to Leland's Collec. vol. 1. page 28. And Hearne's Miſcell. Plates of Antiq. publiſh'd by J. Thane

The old part of St. Peter's church at Oxford, which Hearne with great reaſon ſuppoſes to be the original, as built by Grimbald, (in the time of Elfred) is conſtructed of large ſquare ſtones, and in the inſide are two rows of pillars forming the main arch, and two ayſles nearly as large as the main arch; the arches are ſemi-circular, and on the capitals of the four front columns are rude antique figures, with ornaments, conforming exactly with ſuch as are conſtantly met with in the titles of the Saxon MSS. I examined this building when I was laſt at Oxford, with the greateſt attention, and ſaw that it had been often repaired, and on the outſide was growing in many places much more modern. In this, as well as in moſt Saxon buildings, the windows are very ſmall in proportion to the ſize of the work.

Vol 1, Deſcrip. of Brit. page 85.

Hollingſhead (in his Deſcription of Britain) tells us "that of old tyme in our country houſes inſtead of glaſſe they dyd uſe much lattis, and that made eyther of fine wicker or riftes of oak in chekerwiſe. I read alſo (continues he) that ſome of the better ſorte in and before the tymes of the Saxons, did make panels of horne inſteede of glaſſe, and fix them in woodden calmes, but as horne is quite layde down in every place, ſo our lattiſes are grown into leſs uſe, becauſe glaſſe is come to be as plentifull, and within a very littel as good and as cheap as the other." But we are certain, that glazing of windows with glaſs was in the very early days of the Saxons put in practice. Benedict (as hath been before obſerved) brought this art with him from Rome, where it had been ſome time uſed; as Malmſbury affirmeth, "*Vitrearum feneſtrarum* primus omnium Angliam aſciverit." And again, "Neque enim ante Benedictum lapidei tabulatus domus in Britannia niſi perrarò videbantur, neque perſpicuitate *vitri* penetrata lucem ædibus ſolaris jaciebat radius." Mr. Dutens has alſo proved the antiquity of glaſs windows, in his learned and curious defence of the antients. Hollingſhead continues afterwards to ſay, that "heretofore alſo the houſes of our princes and noblemen were often glazed with beril, (an example whereof is yet to be ſeene in *Sudley* caſtell) and in divers other places with fine chriſtall, but this eſpecially in the time of the Romaines, whereof alſo ſome fragments have beene taken up in olde ruines, &c."

Wm. of Malmſbury. de Geſt. Reg. Brit. lib. 1.

A compariſon between the knowledge of the antients & moderns.

Hol. Deſ. Brit. vide ſupra

I

I am inclined to think, that the reaſon why the windows were ſo ſmall in the buildings of our anceſtors, was from their want of ſkill, as well as proper furnaces and implements neceſſary for the making large plates of glaſs; the ſmall panes being found to be very inconvenient where the windows were large; and from this cauſe their ſtructures were ſo diſmally dark as to oblige them almoſt continually to keep candles of wax or lamps burning.

In the buildings of the inferior ſort we ſhall be much at a loſs, for ſuch hath been the effects of time, or rather the more deſtructive hands of the ignorant and ſacrilegious wretches, into whoſe power theſe venerable ſtructures of our anceſtors have fallen, that few of them are left, and of thoſe that are it is very difficult to determine whether they are the actual remains of the original edifice.

It was with great pleaſure that I ſurveyed the ſmall remaining part of an old chapel (dedicated to St. John the Baptiſt) at Braintree, which from antient record ſhould ſeem to be of earlier date than the conqueſt. The principal part of this ruin (now ſtanding) is the eaſt wall, 18 feet high; the chapel was very ſmall, its breadth not exceeding 15 feet, and its length meaſuring in the inſide about 30. The materials of the foundation (which was very ſtrong) were of rough hewn ſtones, and it was near four feet thick, on which was raiſed the main walls, compoſed of rubble ſtone and cement, about two feet and a half thick, (the ſtones mixed with the cement ſeem moſtly to be ſmall pebbles, and not the rag flint as was uſed by the Normans;) at unequal diſtances there were intermixed with the rubble and cement large ſquare ſtones, the uncouth appearance of which led me to conclude that they had been ſince added, till on a ſtrict examination I found, that they in common with the rubble ſtone had been covered over with a ſtrong plaiſtering, about 1 ½ inch thick, nor had they the leaſt appearance of ever having been diſturbed till lately; beſides, their ſituation was ſuch, that the whole ſtructure muſt have been manifeſtly greatly endangered in placing them there at any other time than at the firſt building of the chapel. The corners of the walls were ornamented with freeſtone cut ſquare, as well as the windows, which were very long and narrow. An old man who lived near the ſpot informed me, that he remembered all the ſouth wall ſtanding quite perfect, and that both it and the eaſt front were ornamented at the top with hewn flint ſtones, ſet in between the ſquare ſtones, in diamond faſhion; but theſe ornaments had been long ſince taken away, and about ten years ago all the reſt fell down, (as it is ſaid) leaving only what has been deſcribed ſtanding. But it is moſtly believed that the owner pulled it down, for the ſake of a few ſhillings that he got for the materials; and all the reſt had doubtleſs ſhared the ſame fate, but that it conſtitutes the ſupport to ſome part of the wall of an adjoining cottage. Thus within theſe few years fell this valuable remnant of antiquity, that had ſo many ages braved the repeated ſhocks of time. I have reſcued all that remained of it, (in the year 1772) leſt envelloped in ruin and deſolation, the memory of it ſhould be entirely loſt, (ſee the eaſt front of it, pl. 2. fig. 2.)

In the county of Eſſex.

The Saxons antiently covered in their buildings with ſlate, but theſe I apprehend were of the inferior claſs, for their more magnificent ſtructures are ſaid by authors to have been covered in with lead.

Abbot Terketulus (in the time of Edgar) added large buildings to the monaſtery of Croyland, for the reception of poor monks, "Omnia de lignis levigatis facta ſunt (quia molem lapideam fundamentum debile ferre non ſuffecit) *plumboque* cooperta."

Ingulphus Abb. Croyland, p. 505. B.

Before

Ven. Bede in Vita Sanc. Cuthbert.

Before I take my leave of theſe old religious edifices, I will tranſcribe Bede's deſcription of the Monaſtry built by St. Cuthbert.

Camden's Brit.

The building was round, four or five perches wide between wall and wall, the wall on the outſide was the height of a man, but withinſide it was higher, ſo made by the ſinking a huge rock, which was done to prevent the thoughts from rambling, by reſtraining the ſight, and to keep the mind employed on holy matter, and Heavenly contemplations. The wall was not made of ſquare ſtone or bricks, nor cemented with mortar; but of rough unpoliſhed ſtone, with turf dug up in the middle of the place, and banked on both ſides of the ſtones all round. (Some of the ſtones were ſo big that four men could hardly lift one of them.) Within theſe walls he conſtructed two houſes and a chappel, together with a room for common uſes. The roofs he made of unhewn timber, and thatched them in. Without the walls he had a larger houſe, to receive thoſe that ſhould viſit him, and not far off a fountain which continually ſerved them with water. Add to this the deſcription of Weſtminſter-Abbey, as it was built by the Confeſſor, tranſcribed in Camden from an old MS. The body of the church inroofed with lofty arches of ſquare work, the joints anſwering one another, but on both ſides knit together. Moreover, the croſs of the church (made to encompaſs the middle quoir of the ſingers, and by its double ſupport on each ſide to bear up the lofty top of the middle tower) firſt riſes ſingly with a low and ſtrong arch, then mounts higher with ſeveral winding ſtairs artificially aſcending, and laſt of all with a ſingle wall reaching to the wooden roof, well covered with lead. This was as it ſtood before it received thoſe great alterations and enlargements, afterwards made by Henry the Third.

Ibid. p. 318

Of their Domeſtic Buildings.

It will, I fear be impoſſible to give a perfect deſcription of their domeſtic ſtructures, as well from the ſilence of hiſtorians in general on this particular, as from the improbability of meeting with any authentic remains of them. Tacitus of old informs us, that the ancient Germans did not build cities, nor did they ſuffer their houſes to join each other, either from a fear of fire, or from their unſkilfulneſs in building. They wanted not either parget or mortar, for they underſtood not the uſe of ſtones and bricks; their houſes were conſtantly built with timber, rough and unhewn, which they neither ſquared or wrought into any form. Their walls were diligently (conſidering their natural inattention to ornaments,) daubed or plaiſtered over with a clear ſhining earth, on which they made the rude and barbarous tracings of coloured figures. Theſe buildings were thatched over with reeds and ruſhes, and were chiefly intended as ſummer reſidences; for they had alſo caves dug down into the earth, which were covered with dung; thoſe ſerved both for granaries for their corn, and a place of refuge from the bitter colds of the winter: neither were they uſeleſs in the time of war, for in theſe holes they would ſkulk and hide themſelves from the purſuits of the enemy.

On their firſt arrival their houſes might be but rudely made of ſtakes and hurdles, thatched with reeds, &c. yet, on their eſtabliſhment in England, among the various, improvements, thoſe in architecture were not in the leaſt neglected by them; for their churches, palaces, and public ſtructures, we find from miſerable ſheds of wood, and twiſted oſiers daubed over with clay, are eaſily traced on to grand and magnificent buildings of ſtone and bricks: ſo we may juſtly conclude that their own habitations improved in proportion, as their notions of grandeur and elegance (joined with the knowledge of uſeful materials) increaſed.

By the help of the Saxon delineations, joined with the ſlight hints left us by ſome few authors, we may conclude that the frames of their houſes were of wood, and the walls plaiſtered. Thoſe of the better ſort were faced at the corners with ſtone or bricks, with which the arches of their windows were alſo ornamented. They had bricks, which were by no means uſed in common, but as ornaments only to the better ſort of buildings: and the reaſon may be, that they had not then ſuch ready and convenient methods of making and burning them as we now have; ſo that the great fatigue and trouble that was neceſſarily beſtowed, might ſo far enhance their price, that ſtone (particularly in ſome parts of the kingdom) might be cheaper, and better for the general uſe.

The form of the houſes were, without doubt, varied according to the fancy of the builder, or deſire of the employer. (Plate 1. No. 3.) is the delineation of a Saxon houſe: the wing A, ſeems to be wholy conſtructed either with large bricks or ſquared ſtones: the whole of it is well covered in with ſlates. And (plate 6) which repreſents the workmen building a houſe, for I am aſhamed almoſt to call it by any other name; is intended for the building of the Tower of Babel: yet, it however, plainly ſhews how much their notions and ideas of things were confined to the manners and cuſtoms of their own nation.

Of their Regal Courts.

Their regal court was thus held: the king was ſeated on his throne, habited in his robes of ſtate, a crown on his head, and a ſcepter in his hand; on his left hand appears his ſword-bearer, who was fully armed, and is generally repreſented ſtanding; though in (plate 8. fig. 1.) which repreſents Abimelech making a laſting covenant with Abraham, attended by Phicol the chief captain of his hoſt, who perhaps, becauſe he is (in the Sacred Writ) ſpoken of as a man in great eſteem with the king, is repreſented ſitting and covered; or it might be the uſual cuſtom with our anceſtors, for the chief captain or general, to attend the grand courts, where he might in this manner take his ſeat on the left hand of the king bearing the naked ſword, the ſymbol of his office. Gen. ch. 31. V. 22.

In (plate 7. fig. 2.) we find the king (in the midſt of his court, who are all ſeated and covered) bearing himſelf the ſword in one hand, and a ſcepter in the other; for the better explanation of this drawing, let us obſerve the words of the Sacred Text which relate to it, for it is the repreſentation of Pharoah king of Egypt, holding a court in honour of his birth-day. "And it came to paſs on the third day, which was Pharoah's birth-day, that he made a feaſt to all his ſervants; and on this day he reſtored the chief butler to his butlerſhip again, but he hanged the chief baker, as Joſeph had interpreted to them." Gen. ch. 40. verſ. 20.

Thus we find, that though only "a feaſt to all the (king's) ſervants," is here mentioned, yet the illuminator, knowing it to be common in his own country, that not only a court, but a grand and ſplendid one ſhould be held on ſuch an occaſion, did not ſcruple in the leaſt to repreſent it as ſuch, according to thoſe cuſtoms which came immediately under his own knowledge; and here the king himſelf bears the ſword, ſignifying that as he himſelf was next to God at the head of juſtice and equity, ſo he was ready to receive and protect them that were wrongfully or unlawfully oppreſſed, and to do them right. The ſcepter being uſed inſtead of the curtana, (or blunt ſword of mercy) for we find the king is intended to be repreſented in the midſt of this great meeting of his nobles, adminiſtring both juſtice and mercy, hanging the baker, and reſtoring the butler.

From theſe ſpecimens the following concluſions may be drawn.

Firſt, that in the common and more friendly meetings of the king and his nobles, the ſword was borne by a knight, or other reſpectable perſon, either by proxy for the nobleman whoſe office it was, or for diſtinction ſake.

Secondly, in the more auguſt aſſemblies, the peer himſelf bore it.

And laſtly, where the king ſat as the chief judge, he then himſelf took the ſword in his right hand, while he held the ſcepter in his left.

And this we find very clearly demonſtrated to have been the uſual cuſtom of the nation, from the various and different delineations copied here; and more eſpecially from thoſe copied in the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities. For wherever we find the king granting any particular honour, or finally deciding any cauſe, he is always repreſented bearing the ſword himſelf; when on the contrary he is receiving any thing, his attendant bears the ſword; and at coronations, together with other ſolemn aſſemblies, the ſword was borne by the peer whoſe office it was according to the law of the land; unleſs the nature of the office of ſuch peer, required double attendance; then ſome other lord by him deputed, bore it by proxy for him. John of Gaunt, uncle to Richard the Second, at the coronation of that prince, among other claims (which he then made demanded in right of his earldom of Leiceſter, to be high ſteward of England; and as duke of Lancaſter, to bear the King's chief ſword, &c. theſe petitions being found juſt, were confirmed to him; and the earl of Derby, his ſon, by proxy, to bear the ſword, while the duke was employed bout the other offices as ſteward.

Regal & Ecc. Antiq. of England.

Nero D. vi. MS. apud Bib. Cott. Regal & Ecc. Antiq. of Eng.

Plate 8, fig. 3, repreſents Pharoah in great eſtate ſeated on his throne, receiving a viſit from the Patriarch Jacob, uſhered in by Joſeph his ſon, who was evidently much reſpected and eſteemed by Pharoah. " Go (ſays he to Joſeph) take your father and his houſhold, and come to me and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt." And again, " Regard not your ſtuff, for the good of all the land of Egypt is yours." And though it is only in the ſacred writ expreſſed, that " Joſeph brought in Jacob his father and ſet him before Pharoah," yet the illuminator has made him ſitting, both on account of his age and infirmities; as well as in his ſpecial mark of amity, cauſed him to be ſeated on the king's right hand. The king holds in his hand a ſcepter, on the top of which is the repreſentation of a dove, the true emblem of peace and friendſhip; and this ſcepter was often uſed on theſe occaſions by the Saxon kings, inſomuch, that Edward the Confeſſor, the firſt who uſed the broad ſeal, placed it thereon. And this dove ſcepter is to this day uſed, in the coronation of the kings of England. The figure on the outſide of the court, (marked A) is moſt likely the venerable patriarch after his interview with Pharoah, returning to his

Gen. 47. v. 7.

Ibid. ch. 45. V. 18. 20.

Speed's Chron. and Dr. Ducarrel's Ang. Norman Antiq.

his habitation, ſupporting his aged and feeble body with a ſtaff. In the ſame plate (8. fig. 2.) we ſee the repreſentation of a king on horſeback with his retinue: it is eaſy to conclude that the figure behind him is ſuperior to the reſt of the followers, not only from his heading the reſt, but from his being covered, particularly with the ſort of cap worn only by the nobility and chief officers of the realm. He is perhaps the principal captain of guard, or an attendant lord. We are not in the leaſt ſurpriſed, at all times to find the king wearing his crown, which we have heard originally was no more than a helmet, or covering for the head, ſo ornamented for diſtinction ſake.

A ſeal of Edward the Confeſſ. in poſſeſſion of T. Aſtle, Eſq; See pl. 8. fig. 2. the figure of Phicol, & pl. 7. fig. 2. the figures of the Court of Pharoah.

I once more refer the reader to the delineation deſcribed above, where Abraham and Abimelech are confirming the covenant made between them by a ſolemn oath. "And Abimelech and Phicol, the chief captain of the hoſt, ſpake unto Abraham, ſaying, God is with thee in all that thou doeſt. Now therefore ſwear unto me here by God, that thou wilt not deal falſely with me, nor with my ſon, nor with my ſon's ſon: but according to the kindneſs that I have done unto thee, thou ſhalt do unto me, and to the land wherein thou haſt ſojourned. And Abraham ſaid, I will ſwear."—In the delineation the figure of Abraham hath his right hand laid on the ſtone pillar.—Saxo Gramaticus & Ola. Wormius inform us, that the Danes uſed at the election of their kings, and other ſolemn aſſemblies, to ſtand upon ſtones ſet into the earth, and thence give their votes, tacitly declaring the firmneſs of the act by the ſtability of the ſtones they ſtood upon. At other times they ſat upon ſtones, or ſtood by ſtone pillars. Now as the Saxons and the Danes, with all of thoſe northern nations, originally ſprang from the ſame ſtock, and nothing differing either in religion or cuſtoms from each other, without doubt ſomething of the ſame manners and ceremonies were preſerved by the ſucceeding branches, the tracings of which are yet to be diſcovered even among the Chriſtian Saxons. Thus much then ſeems with them to be remaining of this their antient ceremony, that in taking a ſacred and ſolemn oath, they put their hands upon ſome firm fixed pillar or ſtone, as if declaring thereby their oath to be equally firm and inviolable.

Plate 8, fig. 1.

Gen. chap. xxi. ver. 22, 23, & 24.

Saxo Gram. Ola. Worm.

Of their Government, Adminiſtration, Laws, &c.

The Saxon kings in general acted by the advice of their council; and the laws, if temporal, were made and ratified by the meeting and concordance of the chief lords and people of the realm: but if they were touching eccleſiaſtical matters, they were referred to the ſynod, (or meeting of the biſhops) whoſe diſputes, together with the king's approbation or diſlike, were often laid before the pope for his final determination.

The laws of Ina (king of the Weſt Saxons) were made in a full convocation, or aſſembly of the principal peers, &c. of the kingdom. The preamble runs thus,

Ic Ine mid Godes Gyfe West Seaxna cyning mid geþeaht ⁊ mid lære Cenredes mines Fæder. ⁊ Heddes mines bisceopes ⁊ Ercenƿaldes mines bisceopes. ⁊ mid eallum minum Ealdormannum ⁊ þam yldestan ƿitan minre þeode. ⁊ eac mycelre somnuge Godes þeoƿena. ƿæs smeagende be þære þæle urra saƿla. ⁊ be þam staþole ures rices. þ ryht æƿe. ⁊ ryht cynedomas. þurh ure folc gefæstenode. ⁊ getrymmed ƿæron. þ næ nig Ealdormanna. ne us underge þeodendra æfter þæm. ƿære aƿendende þæs ure Domas.

I

*I Ina, by God's gift, Weſt Saxon king, with the council, and with the doctrine of Cenred my father, and Heddes my biſhop, and Ercenwald my biſhop, and with all my aldermen * and thoſe antient and learned of my people; and alſo a great congregation of God's ſervants; when it was then conſidered of for the health of our ſouls, and for the ſupporting our kingdom, that right laws and right judgments might be to all our dominions; and they were thus compleated; and henceforth no alderman, nor any of my ſubjects after him, ſhall dare to prejudice or change theſe our judgments.*

Ven. Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 16.
Wm. of Malmſbury, Geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. 2.

Juſtice was adminiſtered by magiſtrates, appointed in each particular town or city for that purpoſe; and the kings themſelves generally (in times of peace) rode alternately from town to town through each province, to ſee that a due and impartial regard was paid to the laws and conſtitutions of the kingdom by each particular magiſtrate. Edwine, king of Northumberland, uſed to ride from city to city, and from province to province, with his retinue, (in time of peace) to adminiſter juſtice. So alſo did Edgar, who puniſhed with the greateſt ſeverity thoſe magiſtrates that he found either partial or neglectful of their duty.

Polydore Virgil.
Hollingſhead, p. 304

But how the magiſtrates of each particular province adminiſtered juſtice, whether they had the ſole power inveſted in themſelves, or how extenſive their power might be, hiſtorians have not recorded. Polydore Virgil and others have imagined, that the jury of twelve was firſt inſtituted under the government of the Saxons; but Hollingſhead, who attributes this inſtitution to the Normans, writes thus, "There may be *ſome* perhaps (as Polydore Virgil ſaith) that will mayneteyne how this manner of proceeding in the adminiſtration of juſtice by the voices of a jurie, was in uſe before the conqueroures dayes, but they are not able ſo to proove it by any auntient recordes of writers, as he thynketh: albeit by ſome of our hiſtories they ſhoulde ſeeme to bee firſte ordeyned by Ethelred or Egelred."

Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 2. chap. 15.
Wm. of Malmſbury, lib. 2. cap. 4

But be their particular methods of juſtice what they would, it is moſt certain that the greateſt order was kept up, as well as the ſtricteſt regard paid to the laws of the kingdom. Edwine cauſed ladles or cups of braſs to be faſtened to the clear ſprings and wells, for the refreſhment of the paſſengers; and ſuch was the good order preſerved in the kingdom, that none dared to touch them but for their preſent uſe. And in the time of Elfred, a virgin might go from one end of the kingdom to another without the leaſt lett or moleſtation; and bracelets of gold were hung by the way ſide, yet none were ſo hardy as to take them away.

One of their methods of puniſhing offenders, was to put them into a double (or rather ſplit) piece of pliant wood, which was bent round them, and faſtened at the top, (from whence doubtleſs came our preſent pillory, ſee plate 15, fig. 5.) and while the priſoner was thus confined, he was whipped with a ſcourge of three cords, each having a large knot at the end of it. I cannot trace out for certainty of what magnitude the crime was, for expiation of which this puniſhment was aſſigned. The crime muſt have been very great and enormous that reached the life of the offender (eſpecially if he were rich) for murder and many other great offences, they bought themſelves off with paying a fine, greater or leſs in proportion to the quality of the perſon ſlain, except women that killed their huſbands, who were burnt alive; and traitors alſo were generally put to death. For theft (if a man had not wherewithal to pay the ſtipulated fine) he forfeited his hand or his foot, which were to be cut off. Some were alſo hanged on a gallows, * (plate 15, fig.)

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* Ealdoꞃ ſo written in our antient language, is properly as *Elder* or *Senior*, yet an Ealdoꞃman, which we now call an *Alderman*, was ſuch in effect among our anceſtors, as was *Tribunus Plebis* with the Romans, *(i. e.)* Governor of the common people, and protector of their rights. Verſt. p. 326.

Which law is yet in force.

The exact time that England was divided into ſhires and counties is not known, but authors in general have attributed to Ælfred the firſt making theſe diviſions: (and it is certain according to the authority of Ingulphus, that he made more particular diviſions in his kingdom than any king who had gone before him) yet, ſome learned men have (with the greateſt juſtice) diſputed this point, and by no means allow Ælfred to have been the firſt that divided his kingdom; for Mathew of Weſtminſter tells us, that Offa reigned over twenty-three provinces, and Edwine rode from city to city, and province to province, &c. Many other authentic matters may be found to prove ſome diviſions made in the particular kingdoms, long before thoſe made more perfect by Ælfred.

Ingulph. Ab.Monaſt. Croy.

Flores Hiſt. page 788.

Bede

Manors were given, grants and conveyances made, and held good, (without writing) by the donor's confirming his promiſe by gift of his ſword, or his head piece: nay even the moſt trifling matters ſays Ingulphus, as a drinking horn, a bow, an arrow, a ſpur, or even a quil, or a curry comb. Speed tells us, that Offa king of the Eaſt Angles, ſent a ring from Port George, to Edmund ſon of Alkmund, adopting him his ſucceſſor by that token. Their written charters were alſo confirmed with the donor's name, and a croſs of gold. Theſe cuſtoms the Normans quite aboliſhed, introducing ſeals of wax, ſigned with the ſignet or ſeal of the donor, or impreſſed with ſome mark, as Stow affirms in his copy of the charter of lands, given by the conqueror to the Norman hunter, one of the laſt lines of which runs thus;

Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 512. cap.

Speed Chron.

Stow ex.lib. Richmond.

"To witneſſe this is ſoothe,
"I bite the white waxe with my toothe."

The common current coin of the Saxons were pennies of ſilver, which were very thin and flat, moſt of them have the head of the king at whoſe command they were made, rudely ſtamped upon them, ſurrounded by the name; and on the reverſe is generally found a croſs, with the name of the coiner, or city where it was coined. Mr. John White, in Newgate Street, (who has a moſt curious and capital collection of Britiſh and Saxon coins) favoured me with a ſight of both copper, and gold coins of the Saxons; theſe laſt are eſteemed as very great rarities.

Navigation of the Saxons.

It has already been obſerved that the antient Saxons were great ſailors, living chiefly by their piracies and plunder; and the ſlight conſtruction of their veſſels, has already been ſhewn. On their firſt arrival into England, they all came in three long ſhips, which Verſtegan informs us they themſelves called Keeles,

Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 15.

Verſtegan p. 126, confirmed alſo by John Pomarius

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* For further information concerning the crimes and puniſhments of malefactors, together with the fines to be paid, ſee the laws of Ina, Ælfred, Athelſtan, and Edgar, &c. at the latter end of the Latin and Saxon edition of Bede's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.

and that their number was 9000 men, 3000 to each ſhip. But this is improbable, if not impoſſible, unleſs their ſhips were built of different materials from thoſe of the Saxons deſcribed by Lucan and other authors. See page 22.

On their ſettlement in Britain they began to improve their navy from time to time: and though it may be juſtly obſerved, that we do not read of any very memorable actions performed by the Anglo-Saxons on the ſea, yet we often find their kings fitting and ſending out fleets of ſhips, to curb the power of the pirates, as well Danes as others, who often landed and ravaged the ſea coaſts. The royal navy of Edgar is ſaid to have amounted to the number of 3600 ſhips, which he divided into three parts, and ſent them to three ſeveral ſtations, that they might ſcower the ſeas, and ſecure the coaſts: he himſelf would alſo in the ſummer, ſail with the fleet of one ſtation to the other, and ſo back again, going alternately to every different ſtation; by which means the ſea was kept clear from pirates, and the kingdom greatly ſtrengthned. Speed Chron. 349 William Malmſbury lib. 2.

Plate 9. fig. 1. repreſents the form and conſtruction of a more improved ſhip of the Saxons (ſometime before the Norman conqueſt) when they began to build with planks of wood, and deck them over. The ſtern is richly ornamented with the head and neck of a horſe: the two bars which appear at the ſtern, were for the ſteering of the ſhip, inſtead of a rudder: on the middle near the maſt is erected the cabbin (in the form of a houſe) for the commodious reception of the paſſengers: the keel runs from the ſtern, ſtill growing broader, and broader to the prow or head of the ſhip, which comes gradually decreaſing up to a point, for the more ready cutting the water in the ſhip's courſe. When the veſſel had received her full burthen, ſhe was ſunk, at leaſt, to the top of the third (nailed) board; ſo that the prow itſelf was nearly, if not quite immerged in the water. Over the prow is a projection, which I at firſt imagined (like thoſe ſtrong bars of iron at the heads of the Roman veſſels) was uſed in running with great force againſt the ſides of the enemy's ſhip; but in the delineation we ſee the end of the prow comes ſtill further out, which would of courſe ſtrike firſt and prevent the deſired effect of this machine; its ſhape alſo (which is crooked) is very badly calculated to ſuſtain the ſhock of ſuch a violent ſtroke as would be neceſſary. It was, perhaps, either for the convenient faſtning of the ſhip's rigging, or to hold the anchor: the ſail being furl'd up, we cannot ſo well judge of the method uſed to faſten and work it while the the ſhip was under way: but from its preſent appearance, it may very juſtly be concluded that it was managed in the ſame manner with thoſe of the Normans, which were of very little uſe, except when the ſhip went before the wind. It ſhould ſeem that this was a ſailing veſſel only, for there are no holes or places made for the uſing of oars, The length of this ſhip does not bear the leaſt proportion to the height; ſo that unleſs the breadth was more anſwerable, it was impoſſible for it to weather up a ſide wind. But I think the veſſel ought to have been made longer, and that either the illuminator who was confined by the breadth of the MS. (being willing to give in on as large a ſcale as poſſible,) was obliged to make it too ſhort; or elſe too ill ſkilled in the knowledge of proportion to be thoroughly acquainted with his errour: unleſs we ſuppoſe that having finiſhed his outline, he thought it too much trouble to do it entirely over again. See the accounts of the Norman navigation & the life of Offa, No. 42

The Saxons were very magnificent in the appearances of their royal veſſels; king Athelſtan had one (which was preſented to him by Harold king of Norway) whoſe head was wrought with gold, the ſails were purple, and the deck was elegantly William Malmſ. de Geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 6.

elegantly gilt all round with gold. Earl Goodwin to appeaſe the anger of Hardicnute (who accuſed him as being acceſſary to the murder of his brother) preſented to him a ſhip, the head of which was richly made and wrought with gold, as was alſo the rigging and furniture: within it were contained eighty ſoldiers, whoſe garments and arms were alſo ornamented with gold, and each of them had two golden bracelets on either arm, (weighing 16 ounces) the helmets on their heads were alſo richly gilt with gold; and round their waiſts each man had girded a rich ſword, whoſe hilt was of maſſy gold; and every man had a Daniſh ax on his left ſhoulder, and in his right hand he held a lance, called in Engliſh **Hateger**.

Ibidem lib. cap. 12.

Flores Hiſt.

Beſides theſe rich habiliments, Mat. of Weſtminſter adds a triple coat of mail wrought in gold, to each man, with a ſhield emboſſed with gold, and ornamented with nails richly gilt.

They had alſo boats and other ſmall craft. The boats uſed at the building the monaſtry of Croyland, are, by Ingulphus called *ſcaphis*, and Matthew of Weſtm. only give the name of *naviculum* to the boat or barge in which Edgar was rowed up the river Dee.

Ingulphus.

Matt. Weſt.

The haven where ſhips were firſt built in Britain, is generally reported to have been at Sandwich.

See Somner's Ports & Fort.

Huſbandry, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons.

We find of old that the Germans not only hated, but held it a diſgrace to till their lands, or provide by honeſt induſtry for the ſupport of their lives: "they committed, (ſays Tacitus) the care of cultivating their lands to the old and feeble, whoſe decrepid age prevented their attendance on the wars; and alſo to their women.

Tacitus Deſcript. Germ.

The only grain that they cared about was barley, with which they made their drink: but (continues he) thoſe that live on the banks of the Rhine have wine.

On their ſettlement in Britain, more eſpecially on the flouriſhing of chriſtianity, their minds became more poliſhed and improved; they then began induſtriouſly to manure and cultivate the ground, occupying of farms, ſowing carefully their grain, and grazing and keeping of cattle: their ſheep alſo they ſheered at the proper ſeaſon, and dreſſed the wool; which, being firſt ſpun, was wove into ſumptuous garments and clothing.

See the Laws of Ina, &c.

The better to explain their rural improvements, we will go regularly through with the months, as they follow; ſee plate 10, 11, and 12.

January, exhibits the huſbandman in the field at plough, while his attendant diligently following his ſteps, is ſowing the grain. Pl. 10. fig. 1.

February, the grain being put into the earth, the next care was to prune their trees, crop their vines, and place them in order. Ibid. fig. 2.

March, then we follow them into the garden, where the induſtrious labourer is digging up the ground and ſowing the vegetables for the enſuing ſeaſon. Ibid. fig. 3.

April, now taking leave of the laborious huſbandman, we ſee the nobleman regaling with his friends, and paſſing this pleaſant month in carouſings, banquetings, and muſic. Ibid. fig. 4.

May, brings the lord into the field to examine his flock, and ſuperintend the ſhearing of the ſheep. Pl. 11. fig. 4.

June

Pl. 11, fig. 2. *June*, with this month comes the gladſome time of harveſt, here are ſome cutting down the corn, while it is by others bound up in ſheaves and laid into the carts, to be conveyed to the barns and granaries; in the mean time they are ſpirited up to their labours, by the ſhrill ſound of the enlivening horn *.

Ibid. fig. 3. *July*, here we find them employed in lopping the trees and falling of timber, &c. See alſo a man chopping of wood, (plate 13, fig. 6).

Ibid. fig. 4. *Auguſt*, In this month they cut down the barley, with which they made their old and beſt beloved drink.

Pl. 12, fig. 1. *September*, here we find the lord attended by his huntſmen, purſuing and chaſing the wild boars in the woods and forreſts.

Ibid. fig. 2. *October*, and here he is amuſing himſelf with the exerciſe of that old and noble paſtime, *hawking*.

Ibid. fig. 3. *November*, this month returns us again to the labourers, who are here heating and preparing their utenſils. See alſo a blackſmith (plate 7, fig. 3.)

Ibid. fig. 4. *December*, in this laſt month we find them thraſhing out the grain, while ſome winnow (or rather ſift) it to free it from the chaff; and others carry it out in large baſkets to the granaries proper for its reception; in the mean time the ſteward (or ſuperintendant) keeps an account of the quantity, by means of an indented or notch'd ſtick.

Their principal grain was barley, yet they by no means neglected the proper cultivation of wheat, of which their beſt bread was made; though many have ſuppoſed that their bread was chiefly made of barley-meal. Their barley drink, or *ale*, was held in great eſtimation with them. I know it has been by ſome authors affirmed, that though the Engliſh had wine, yet they did not grow it themſelves, neither did they trouble themſelves about the cultivation of vines, or planting vineyards.

Camden. *Probus* (the Roman emperor) firſt gave the Britons permiſſion to plant and cultivate vines, not only for their pleaſure, but alſo for their uſe and profit: they had alſo wine of their own making, as had the Saxons in after times.

Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 1. " Vineas etiam quibuſdam in locis germinans, &c." ſays the venerable Bede. And William of Malmſbury, ſpeaking in praiſe of Glouceſterſhire, adds, " This Lib. 4. de Pont. county is alſo famous for its vineyards, the wines that are grown here have a tartneſs not at all unpleaſant, being little inferior in ſweetneſs to the French wines, for the grapes are ſweeter here than in any other county in England." And ſays Stow, " At Windſor Park, as well as in other parts of England, they Stow's Chron. grew vines and made wine:" then he quotes an old M S. roll, at that time extant in the exchequer of honour at the gate houſe of the caſtle: " In which (ſays he) among other things, is to be ſeene the yeerely account of the charges of the planting of vines; that in the time of Richard the ſecond, which grew in great plenty within the little parke, as alſo of the wine itſelf, whereof ſome part was ſpent in the king's houſe, and ſome part ſold to his profit; the tithes whereof were payed to the abbot of Waltham, then parſon both of Old and New Windſore." See an antient wine preſs of the Saxons, plate 7, fig. 1.

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* Their harveſt ſeems to come very early. In January they are ſowing the corn, and in June beginning to reap it. I am apt to think that the illuminator has ignorantly miſplaced this and the following month, for at the latter end of July harveſt is often known to have been begun, and ſometimes very forward: beſides in the time of harveſt, there is no opportunity for them to take off the men to fall timber, which generally is done before harveſt at preſent, and this miſtake might eaſily happen, for it was ſeldom the ſame perſon who wrote the M S. that illuminated it; that being generally done by people who made it their ſole employment.

In theſe early days there was but a ſmall part of the land cultivated for the growth of corn, according to Stow, who tells us, that " the Engliſh people might have been ſaid to be rather graziers, than plowmen; for almoſt three parts of the kingdom were ſet apart for cattle." Stow's Chron.

The next ſubject that falls under our conſideration is wheel carriages, the firſt of which is a four wheel'd hammock (plate 9, fig. 2.) contrived only for the convenient conveyance of people: from the ſimplicity of it, it may juſtly enough be eſteemed as the firſt invention of coaches, and (excepting that the perſon who rides therein were rather confined for room) I ſhould fancy it were both eaſy and convenient: this carriage is always ſet apart for the uſe of the principal perſonages, the commoner ſorts always riding in carts. When Joſeph went out to meet his father it is expreſsly ſaid, that " He made ready his *chariot*," ſo at this meeting which is repreſented in the M S. he is put into one of theſe vehicles, while Jacob his father is in a cart; it is called cꞃæꞇ, in the M S. Joſep ᵹeᵹeaꞃƿoꝺe hiꞅ cꞃæꞇ,) *and Joſeph made ready his chariot:* as the drawing is ſo very perfect, I leave it to the reader's own conception without any further deſcription, only I will add, that the antient Saxons made great uſe of leather, as well for the cloathing of the meaner ſort of people, as for the covering of their boats; and it may not be improbable but that the body of this chariot might be made of ſtrong hides well ſewed together. Add to this the carts (plate 9, fig. 3.) and alſo thoſe of (plate 13.) together with a man digging (plate 7. fig. 4.) and the utenſils of huſbandry, &c. in this miſcellaneous plate, all of which need no other deſcription than what is given of the plates in general. Gen. 46. v. 29. M S. apud. Bib. Cot. Inſig. Claud. B. 4.

Domeſtic Employment, Habits, &c.

The Saxons were great enemies to ſloth: thoſe things that they had were ſuch as was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupply their natural wants, and not in the leaſt calculated for the encouragement of idleneſs and indulgence. Plate 13, fig. 2. exhibits a bed of a very ſimple conſtruction, it ſeems to be nothing more than a thick boarded bottom, the covering is very thin, and the pillows ſtiff and hard; in ſhort, from the view of the whole together, eaſe was but little conſidered. This (though ſo rude in appearance) being a royal bed, is ornamented with curtains, which are faſtened to the top, but they had alſo others that ſlid with rings on an iron rod. The leiſure hours of the women (even of better rank) were ſpent in ſpining, and ſuch like ſervile employments; neither was it any diſhonour for the Hleaꝼ-ꝺien, or lady of the houſe to be among her maids, helping them and performing the duties of the houſhold in common with them, while the Hlaꝼoꞃꝺ*, or lord, was with his men aſſiſting and overlooking them; many inſtances of which may be brought to prove the antient ſimplicity and plainneſs of their manners. Tacitus. Verſtegan Decayed Antiq. 316.

I own

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*Hlaꝼoꞃꝺ according to Verſtegan in the Saxon language implies a provider, or afforder of bread, ſignifying juſtly the lord or maſter of the houſe, who provides the neceſſaries for his family, while the Hlaeꝼꝺien, or bread-giver, diſtributes it out as it is wanted: in which office the lady yet (with us) officiates, when ſhe ſits at the upper end of the table, giving forth the bounty of her lord to the ſurrounding gueſts.

Ingulphus Ab. Croy.

I own myſelf much delighted with the account left us by Ingulphus, of Edgitha queen to Edward the confeſſor. "I have often ſeen her (ſays he) while I was yet a boy, when my father was at the king's palace, and as I came from ſchool, when I have met her, ſhe would examine me in my learning, and from grammar ſhe would proceed to logic, (which ſhe alſo underſtood) concluding with me in the moſt ſubtle argument, then cauſing one of her attendant maids to preſent me with three or four pieces of money I was diſmiſſed, being ſent to the larder where I was ſure to get ſome eatables;" which plainneſs would but ill ſuit the refinement of this more poliſhed age; this honeſt national ſimplicity has been with ſcorn put forth, to make room for the inſincere compliments, and fooliſh fopperies of a giddy rival people.

The Dreſs and Habits of the Anglo-Saxons.

The kings and nobles, when in their ſtate dreſs, were habited in a looſe coat which reached down to their ancles, and over that, a long robe faſtened over both ſhoulders, on the middle of the breaſt, with a claſp or buckle. Theſe buckles (as may be ſeen by the different Saxon figures) vary greatly in their form, being ſometimes round and ſometimes oblong, which laſt ſeem to be the ornamental and diſtinguiſhing part of the dreſs of kings and noblemen; for they are only ſeen to be worn by them, and never appear but when the garment was faſtened on the middle of the breaſt, which is alſo a diſtinction uſed by the nobility. One of theſe round ones, which was lately dug up in Kent, I have now in my poſſeſſion, the repreſentation of which is in (plate 22, fig. 10.) the exact ſize of the original, which is of ſilver: in the middle, formerly I ſuppoſe, there had been ſet a precious ſtone, which time has robbed us of; the rim that ſurrounds it was gilt, and the four ſmall round holes were ornamented with pearls, the other four ſmall ſquares were gilt at the bottom, and over that gilding in each of them was ſet a piece of chryſtal, which with the gilding is yet perfectly preſerved: the other oppoſite view is the back, ſhewing how the tongue or claſp of the buckle was faſtened; it went with a ſpring and catched in the hook, exactly ſimilar to the *fibula* of the Romans. It was found in a ſmall burrow in an urn, together with ſome beads of chryſtal.

The edges and bottom of their coats, as well as of their robes, were often trimmed with a broad gold edging, or elſe flowered with different colours.

The ſoldiers and common people wore cloſe coats, reaching only to the knee, and a ſhort cloak over their left ſhoulder, which buckled on the right; this cloak was often trimmed with an edging of gold. The kings and nobles alſo in common, were habited in a dreſs very ſimilar to this, only richer and more elegant. See perfect drawings of the cloſe coat, (plate 15, fig. 7 and 8.) which are thus drawn in the MS. to repreſent the coat of Joſeph, brought by his brethren (after they had ſold him) to Jacob their father. From the form of it, it appears to have been put on over the head like a ſhirt; the bottom edge of theſe garments were alſo ornamented in various manners according to hiſtory; thoſe of the richer ſort were adorned with pearls and pretious ſtones: it was by them called ꞇunican, for when the brothers preſent it to Jacob, they ſay, þaꞅ ꞇunican ƿe ꝼunꝺon. *This tunican we found.*

Gen. chap. 37. ver. 32.

The women were habited in a long looſe robe reaching down to the ground, and large looſe ſleeves; beſides this, they added a hood (or vail) over the head, which falling down before, was wrapped round the neck with great order; their robe was often ornamented with broad borders of different colours, as well at the knees, as at the bottom, &c. Verſtegan contradicts their wearing linen in general, but does not give any ſatisfactory reaſon for ſo thinking: but however, certain it is, that if they did, it was commonly dyed of different colours, for white is ſeldom ſeen in the coloured illuminations of the Saxons. The women do not appear to have any other covering for their heads than the vail, or hoods; but the men wore caps which came to a point before; perhaps they might be made of the ſkins of ſome beaſts dreſſed with the fur part turned outward.

Decay'd Ant.

Both men and women wore ſhoes or rather ſlippers, (the pointed ſhoes ſaid by Verſtegan to have beeen worne by them, are not ſeen in any delineation whatever) the legs of the men were covered half-way up with a kind of bandage wound round, or elſe a ſtrait ſtocking reaching above the knee; while the commoner ſort went naked-legged, and often bare-footed: they alſo wore a ſort of boots which were curiouſly ornamented at the top.

(Plate 15, fig 1,) repreſents the interview between Judah and Tamar his daughter in law, who is in the diſguiſe of an harlot. Judah promiſed to ſend her a kid from his flock, and as pledges for the performances of his promiſe, he (at her deſire) left with her his *ring*, his *bracelet*, and his *ſtaff*. In the MS. it runs thus: Ðacpæth heo þinne hꞃinᵹ ⁊ þinne beah ⁊ þinne ꞅtaꝼ þeþu on hanða haꝼꞅt. *Leave (ſaid ſhe) thy ring, thy bracelet, and thy ſtaff, that thou haſt in thy hand.)* In the proceſs of time, Tamar being pregnant, it was told to Judah that his daughter in law had played the harlot, on which he commanded her to be brought forth and burnt; but ſhe then ſent him his pledges that were left with her, which ſhe had carefully kept; theſe tokens being known to him, he remembered that 'twas herſelf (whom he ſuppoſed to be the harlot) who met him by the way ſide. (Plate 15, fig. 2,) repreſents the ſervants bringing the pledges to Judah. This bracelet exactly correſponds with one that I lately ſaw, which was dug up in the eaſtern part of Kent. It was of maſſy gold, and big enough to be put upon the arm (up to the ſhoulder) of a middling ſized man. There is no doubt but that it was an ornament for the men, as it is here ſhewn as the bracelet of Judah, as well as from the ſize of it. Wm. of Malmſbury tells us, that Ælfred cauſed bracelets to be hung by the way ſide; and the ſoldiers who were in the ſhip preſented to Hardicnute by Goodwin, had two bracelets of gold on each arm, weighing 16 oz. (here I ſhould note, that the weight of this is exactly 8 oz. and ½.) Malmſbury alſo, complaining of the luxury of the Engliſh in the time of the Confeſſor, tells us, that "they addorned their arms with maſſie bracelets of gold." But what is very extraordinary is, that though this bracelet is here ſo well repreſented, and with ſuch exactneſs, yet it is difficult in any other delineation to find any certain reſemblance of it, ſo as to determine its ſituation on the wearer, unleſs we judge from the ſervants wearing his ring as he ought on his finger, that he alſo wears the bracelet in its proper place; if ſo, we may very reaſonably conclude, that thoſe appearances of borders at the end of the ſleeves of the kings, nobles, &c. (which are generally in the MSS. of a different colour from the garment) may be deſigned to repreſent theſe golden ornaments.

Gen. chap. xxxviii. ver. 12, et infra.

Ring or Signet in the Sacred Text.

Geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. 3.

Neither the men nor the women appear to have any particular dreſs ſet apart for riding, but go always in their uſual habit. They had ſaddles to their horſes

In the Norman Æra.

and ſtirrups; they had alſo ſpurs, though they are often repreſented riding without either, (plate 8, fig. 4.) The rowel to the ſpur does not by any means appear to be known at this time; moſt probably the Saxons were the firſt that brought ſpurs into England, and that this is the firſt invention of them, being only a ſingle point, (plate 8, fig. 1.) The rowel does not appear in any delineation till the latter end of the thirteenth century, (ſee the life of Offa.) The women rode ſideways as they do at preſent, having a whip or ſcourge of three ſtrings, with a knot at the end of each, (plate 17, fig. 7.)

Wm. of Malmſbury.

The men always were armed with their ſpears, after the old cuſtom of their anceſtors: and that love of their arms ſtill continued amongſt them; for the old warrior Earl Siward, (in the time of Edward the Confeſſor) finding himſelf at the point of death, cauſed his armour to be brought, and his attendants to dreſs him in it, ſaying, "It was diſhonourable for a ſoldier to die like a woman on a bed."

Of the Banquets of the Anglo-Saxons, Muſic, Paſtimes, &c.

Wm. of Malmſbury.

Tacitus tells us of the Old Saxons, that at their banquets their diet was rude, and when they ſat down to table, every man had his meſs to himſelf: their drink was made of barley, corrupted (ſays he) into a likeneſs of wine; and their meats were ſimple, as wild apples, freſh veniſon, curds and cream, &c.

In almoſt all of the Saxon delineations, where they are repreſented at meat, the table being decently covered with a clean cloth, we ſee that a cup of horn is preſented to every one, which may contain ſome pottage or ſoup, or their barley drink. In the delineation copied (plate 16. fig. 1.) there are three noble perſonages repreſented at table, who are ſerved by two attendants on their knees: in the middle diſh there is a fiſh lying, and the figure on the right alſo holds one in his left hand, and a knife in his right; the other oppoſite figure to the left is employed in cutting ſomething that is preſented to him by the attendant. I muſt own I cannot conceive any other idea of it, than that it is a ſpit, with a piece of roaſted meat, which the abovementioned figure is cutting from it into a plate that is alſo held by the ſervant under it.

The round things which appear on the table, together with thoſe bits that are broken, are done to repreſent the cakes of bread. The knife and ſpoon that lie near the middle figure, are perfect enough; but what thoſe two bowls on each ſide contain, I am at a loſs to know, unleſs it is ſome boiled meat brought on to the table with ſoup, which may be the reaſon of having ſuch deep diſhes; and indeed the ſpoon being on the table, may be thought in ſome meaſure to confirm this opinion.

The middle figure ſeems going to drink, and is addreſſing himſelf to the figure next him, who appears to be anſwering of him.

Verſtegan.

The old health by hiſtorians reported to have been drank by Rowena (the daughter or niece of Hengeſt) to Vortergren, (king of the Britons) was after this faſhion: She came into the room where the king and his gueſts were ſitting, making a low obedience to him, ſhe ſaid, Ƿaeꞅ heal, Hlaꝼoꞃꝺ Cınnınᵹ, *(be of health lord king)* then having drank, ſhe preſented it on her knees to the king, who (being told the meaning of what ſhe had ſaid, together with the cuſtom) took the cup, ſaying ꝺꞃınc heal, *(I drink* your *health)* and drank alſo.

The old manner of pledging each other when they drank was thus: the perſon who was going to drink aſked any one of the company that ſat next him, whether he would pledge him, on which, he anſwering that he would, held up his knife or ſword to guard him whilſt he drank, (for while a man is drinking, he neceſſarily is in an unguarded poſture, expoſed to the treacherous ſtroke of ſome hidden or ſecret enemy.) This cuſtom, as it is ſaid, firſt took riſe from the death of young king Edward, (called the Martyr) ſon to Edgar, who was by the contrivance of Elfrida his ſtepmother, traiterouſly ſtabbed in the back as he was drinking. The above delineation ſeems perfectly well to agree with the reported cuſtom; the middle figure is addreſſing himſelf to his companion, who tells him that he pledges him, holding up his knife in token of his readineſs to aſſiſt and protect him.

William Malmſbury.

There is on the table (plate 16, fig. 2,) an oblong ſquare diſh or plate, together with a round one, and by the bowl there lies a large ſpoon, (or rather a ladle) from whence it is not an unlikely concluſion to make, that the bowl itſelf ſhould be filled with broath or pottage.

In fig. 3, (of the ſame plate) there is the head of an animal in the bowl, which often occurs in the antient delineations of feaſts, and moſt generally appears to be the head of a boar dreſſed whole. There alſo ſtands another bowl upon the table, which is filled with apples, or ſuch like fruit; the reſt muſt be left to the conjectures of the learned readers.

Regal and Eccle. Ant. of Eng. pl. 2.

By moſt authors we are told, that the northern nations were much addicted to hard drinking, which may be the reaſon that at their banquets they ſeem much better provided with drinking horns than with plates and diſhes, eſpecially if all thoſe veſſels which are generally held by every one of the gueſts, are ſet aſide for drinking only. It was among the antient Germans (ſays Tacitus) no diſgrace for them to be ſitting day and night both carouſing and drinking: and ſuch great drinkers were the Danes (who were in England in the time of Edgar) and ſo much did their bad examples prevail with the Engliſh, that he, by the advice of Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, put down many ale-houſes, ſuffering only one to be in a village or ſmall town; and he alſo further ordained, that pins or nails ſhould be faſtened into the drinking cups and horns, at ſtated diſtances, and whoſoever ſhould drink beyond thoſe marks at one draught, ſhould be obnoxious to a ſevere puniſhment.

Deſcript. Germ.

Wm. of Malmſbury.

Hardicnute is reported to have been ſo great a glutton, that he had his table furniſhed four times in the day, in a moſt coſtly manner: and we read that Ercombert, becauſe the people were much given to exceſs, commanded that the forty days of Lent ſhould be ſtrictly kept. The monks in general, in the earlier time, were not permitted to drink either wine or ale. When Ceowulf, king of Northumberland, (following the example of many others,) zealouſly quitted his crown for a cowl, he permitted the monks of Landisfarn, where he had taken his reſidence, to drink both ale and wine; whereas biſhop Aydan, the firſt founder, preſcribed only water and milk.

Speed Chron.

It appears by the drawings that the Anglo-Saxons chiefly boiled their meat: Having killed the animal, and cut it into pieces, it was put into a large kettle, which was ſet on a trivet of three legs, over the fire made on the earth, they ſtirred it and took it out with a hook or fork, which had two prongs that were turned horizontally to the handle, (ſee plate 17, fig. 2.)

Their Muſical Inſtruments, &c.

Beſides the horn and the *cornicinus* or trumpet before mentioned, they played on two flutes, (like the Romans) and this they accompanied with a lyre of four ſtrings, which was beat with a ſmall inſtrument for that purpoſe, and to this muſic they danced, (plate 17, fig. 4.) They alſo excelled in their performance upon the harp; by which means Alfred, in diſguiſe of an harper, got admiſſion into the Daniſh camp, where, while he pleaſed them with his muſic, he diſcovered their deſigns and negligence, and by this means he gave them a total overthrow: which ſame trick was by Anlaff (the Dane) retorted (ſome years afterwards) on the Saxons; for coming to their camp in the ſame diſguiſe, he met with the ſame reception, and departed undiſcovered: though 'tis ſaid that a ſoldier, who had formerly ſerved Anlaff, knew him, and after his departure made it known to Athelſtan, who reproving the ſoldier for the neglect of his duty, in permitting ſo dangerous an enemy to eſcape, was thus anſwered by the ſoldier, "I once ſerved Anlaff, under his pay, for a ſoldier, and gave him the ſame faith that I have now done unto you, and if I had then betrayed him, what truſt could you have repoſed in my truth? Let him die, if ſuch be his fate, but not through my treachery; yet now he is eſcaped, ſecure yourſelf from danger, and remove your tent, leſt he ſhould aſſail you unawares." Which ſpirited and honeſt anſwer of this faithful ſoldier, greatly recommended him to the king's favour. Speed Chron.

They accompanied the harp with the cornicinus and violin; the ſtrings were ſcrewed up with the four pegs ſet horizontal at the end of the nut, (plate 19.) This violin has only four ſtrings, but another (plate 3, of the Norman æra) drawn about the time of Henry the Second, has five; and there are others in the ſecond volume that have only three. As to the figure (on the preſent plate) oppoſite to him, that is playing the violin, with the knives and balls, I cannot poſſibly make the leaſt diſcovery of what he is doing, whether they were thus thrown up, and catched alternately one on the other, to chime in with the muſic, or to anſwer the beating of time; and perhaps they made uſe of knives to ſhew their great dexterity in catching. There is alſo an old lyre on the laſt miſcellaneous plate of the Saxons, together with ſeveral other muſical Inſtruments; for the account of them, which is taken from the MS. ſee the general deſcription of the plates; but ſo very imperfect do the drawings appear to me, that I fear their uſe will not very readily be diſcovered. And one in the time of Henry VII. in the 2d. vol.

The organ was alſo uſed among the Saxons; for Wm. of Malmſbury tells us, that archbiſhop Dunſtan erected one in the time of Edgar at Glaſtenbury, in honour of St. Adhelmn.—"*Et organa ubi per æreas fiſtulas muſicis menſuris elaboratus,*" &c. Wm. of Malmſbury, de Pontibus

Their Sports and Paſtimes.

Their ſports and paſtimes (ſays Tacitus) ſpeaking of the ancient Germans, are the ſame at every aſſembly, that is, young men tutored for that purpoſe, who caſt themſelves naked between ſwords and lances ſet up at certain diſtances. And Deſ. Germ.

And (continues he) ſo remarkably fond are they of dice, and play at it with ſuch earneſtneſs, that they frequently ſtake their liberty on the hazard of the game; when the loſer enters into a voluntary ſervitude, ſuffering himſelf to be bound and ſold, though he be ſuperior both in ſtrength and age to his antagoniſt. But whether theſe cuſtoms were continued among the Anglo-Saxons, cannot well be determined; yet they, like their anceſtors, were moſt remarkably fond of hunting and hawking. The pretence made uſe of by the Daniſh leaders, MS. of Lidgate. Hinguar and Hubba, for invading and ravaging the coaſts of England, was, that one Lothbrock (their father) amuſing himſelf with his hawk near the ſea ſhore; in purſuit of ſome game the hawk fell into the ſea, which to recover he took a little boat, and put forth from ſhore; when a tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing, he was driven out to ſea, and after having narrowly eſcaped drowning, was driven aſhore on the coaſt of Norfolk, where he was well received by Edmund, then king of the Eaſt Angles; who conceiving a great eſteem for him, but eſpecially becauſe of his great ſkill in managing the hawks, and hawking, inſomuch, that *Berick*, the king's falconer, being greatly envious and jealous of him, ſlew him privately in a wood, where his body was diſcovered by means of his favourite ſpaniel; and Berick being convicted of the murder, was condemned to be put into the ſame boat in which Lothbrock came, without rudder, oars, or ſail, and ſo left to the mercy of the waves; but fate conducted him to the very port from whence Lothbrock had firſt put to ſea, where he being known, was ſeized by the Danes, but to free himſelf from puniſhment he accuſed his maſter, king Edmund, of being the ſole contriver (if not the perpetrator) of this cruel murder; in revenge of which Hinguar and Hubba, the ſons of the deceaſed Lothbrock, brought a great army into England, where proving victorious over the forces of king Edmund, himſelf was taken priſoner, and ſhot to death with arrows, &c.

Antient Hiſtory of Burials.

Before I enter into the deſcription of the funeral ceremonies, and manner of interment of the antient Engliſh nation, it will be neceſſary for the fuller explanation of them, to go back to hiſtories far more remote, and trace out theſe ceremonies from their firſt origin, or at leaſt, as nearly as poſſible, conſidering the great confuſion of the materials; and this, at leaſt, may throw ſome light on the uncertain ſtate they now are in, if not fix a ſure criterion, by which we may nearly aſcribe each different relick in this kingdom, to its reſpective nation and conſtructors.

The moſt ancient way of burying, becauſe the moſt ſimple, was that of commiting the body to the earth without either embalming or burning; in holy writ we find the patriarchs thus burying their dead, without the leaſt mention made of any further ceremony till the death of Jacob, who went down into Egypt, and died there, and his body was at the command of Joſeph, embalmed. Gen. chap. 50. ver. 2. The method of embalming among the Egyptians, aroſe from a belief, that as long as the body endured uncorrupted, ſo long the ſoul continued with it: and Servius alſo declares that "hence the Egyptians ſkilful in ſcience, do keep the body Greaves's Deſcrip. of pyramids.

Serv. Com. in Æneid.

body embalmed, that the ſoul may longer continue by the uncorrupted remains.* On the contrary, the Greeks and Romans, with other nations, ſuppoſed that while the body of the deceaſed remained unburied, the ſoul was continually wandering about reſtleſs and diſturbed." And for this reaſon they committed the dead bodies to the earth, and performed the funeral obſequies as ſoon as they conveniently could. The Perſians are ſaid to have expoſed the bodies of their dead on towers erected for that purpoſe, where they might be devoured by the birds of prey; leſt they ſhould defile or pollute the elements, which they held ſacred, and eſteemed thoſe that any ways polluted them, worthy, not only of death in this world, but of the ſevereſt torments in the next.

Herbert's Travels into the Eaſt. Ant. Univerſal Hiſt. v. 5. 166.

The Greeks originally buried their dead, for Teucrus (in the laſt act of Ajax a tragedy of Sophocles) preparing to inter the corps of Ajax, ſays, "ſome quickly make a deep grave, others put the tripod over the fire to prepare the ſacred waſhings for the dead body. And Solon, in the argument which he brought to juſtify the Athenians right to the iſle of Salamis, againſt their competitors the Megarenſians, declares that the bodies there buried, were after the Athenian faſhion, that is, the carcaſs turned to the Eaſt, and a ſingle ſepulchre for every one; whereas, the cuſtom of the Megarenſians was to turn the body to the Weſt, and lay two or three into one grave.

Sophocles Tragedy of Ajax Act 5. Scene 1ſt.

Plutarch in the Life of Solon.

The Romans alſo buried their dead as well as burnt them; which is confirmed by Pliny, † and others: and that both theſe nations, Greeks and Romans, burnt their dead, is by no body doubted.

Nat. Hiſt.

Indeed we find it common with moſt of the antient nations to bury, as well as burn the dead; and the funeral either way, ſeems equally concordant with their religious and ſuperſtitious notions: then allowing the burying of the dead to be the moſt antient cuſtom, ſome reaſons may be neceſſary to account for the burning of them.

In the holy bible, it is ſaid, that "the Philiſtines having got the dead bodies of Saul and of his ſons into their poſſeſſion, they ſtripped them of their armour, and cut off the head of Saul, and nailed all the bodies to the wall of the city of Bethſhan: and when the inhabitants of Jabeſh Gilead heard that which the Philiſtines had done to Saul, all the valiant men aroſe, and went all night, and took the bodies of Saul, and the bodies of his ſons, from the wall of Bethſhan, and came to Jabeſh Gilead, and burnt them there.

1 Sam. ch. 31. ver. 9. & infra.

And ſays Pliny, it was cuſtomary with the Romans always to bury their dead, untill they began to underſtand that the bodies of thoſe ſlain in the wars far off, were ſometimes taken forth from their graves, and barbarouſly abuſed; and Lucius Florus alſo tells us, that the Germans, among other indignities offered to the Romans, rooted up the body of Varus their general, which they treated with great inhumanity. To prevent the like barbarity for the future, they ordained burning before tumulation. And that the ſame inhuman treatment of dead bodies was uſual with the Greeks, (and other nations) may be of certainty concluded from the authority of Homer; who repreſents his hero Achilles

Nat. Hiſt.

Lucius Florus.

Homer's Ili. 22.

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* It was not uſual with the Egyptians to inter the bodies of their friends thus embalmed, but to incloſe them in wooden coffins, and keep them as holy relicks in their houſes, except the kings and princes, who had ſumptuous monuments, and a ſtately pyramid for their reception.

† Numa was buried entire in a ſtone coffin: and the family of the Cornellii were alſo buried till the time of Sylla the dictator, who was burnt. See Plutarch's Life of Numa, and Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. vii. Cap. 54.

Achilles, dragging the breathleſs corpſe of Hector round the walls of Troy, bound to the end of his chariot: and Sophocles in his Ajax, makes Agamemnon refuſe permiſſion to Teucrus to bury the body of Ajax; ſaying, "and even dead, is it not juſt that we inſult him:" for this reaſon the ſoldiers always exerted their utmoſt ſtrength, to prevent the bodies of their generals falling into the hands of the enemy. Such Homer tells, was the great ſtriving between the Greeks, and the Trojans for the body of Patroclus. And when they had got the dead corpſe of the enemy in their poſſeſſion, it was firſt ſtriped of its armour and ornaments, which were eſteemed as the conquerors due: then it was either left naked to the rage and barbarity of the army, or thrown out a prey to the beaſts or fowls of the air: thus Sophocles makes Ajax, in his laſt moments offer up a fervent prayer to Jupiter, that his brother Teucrus might find his dead body, and perform the obſequies, "leſt (ſays he) firſt ſeen by the enemies, I be caſt forth to the dogs, and to the birds a prey.

Sophocles Tragedy of Ajax. Act 5.

Iliad. 17.

Soph. Ajax 4th Act

Alſo what hazards were run by the ſoldiers to reſcue the bodies of their chiefs from the poſſeſſion of the enemy: the men of Gilead went all night to take the bodies of Saul and his ſons from the wall of Bethſhan: and Homer makes old Priam venture not only into the camp of the Grecians, but even to the tent of the ſtern Achilles to ſupplicate the dead body of Hector his ſon. And in Sophocles, we find Antigone attempting to perform the funeral obſequies of her brother Polynices, who by Creon's order was to lie unburied, though ſhe was certain that ſhe ſhould be put to death for her piety: "I knew (ſaid ſhe) that I ſhould die," (and after adds) "but how could I obtain more glory than by entombing my brother."

1 Sam. 31. ver. 12.

Iliad 24.

Soph. Tragedy of Antigone Act 2.

And in order to prevent ſuch inhumanities, no doubt the burning the bodies of their heroes firſt aroſe and was the firſt cauſe why they raiſed large tombs of earth over their aſhes, the monumental honour of the great.

The Saxons, Danes, with other northern nations, burned their dead, in conſequence of a law made by *Woden*.

Olevii Worm.
Sheringham.

The Gauls and Britons alſo burnt their dead.

The bodies being burnt, their aſhes and bits of bones were by the friends of the deceaſed, gathered carefully up, and put into an urn. Thus, among the Greeks, Homer deſcribing the magnificent funeral of Patroclus, adds:

Next the white bones his ſad companions place
With tears collected, in the golden vaſe.

Others ſometimes of the commoner ſoldiers, were put into earthen pots, and ſometimes the aſhes were raked up in a heap, and covered with earth, without an urn; (but this was only when they were in haſte.)

Iliad 23.

The arms of a ſoldier, were (if his body was not burnt) buried with him, and his ſword laid under his head: thus the prophet Ezekial expreſſes it, "and they ſhall not lie with the mighty, that are gone down to hell with their weapons of war, and they have laid their ſwords under their heads;" and Sophocles makes Ajax ſay, after giving his ſhield to his ſon, "my other armour ſhall be buried with me."

Ezekial ch. 32. ver. 27.

Ajax.

If the bodies were burnt, the arms were thrown upon the funeral pile, and particularly ſuch ſpoils as the deceaſed had taken from the enemy. Thus Virgil, deſcribing the funeral of the ſoldiers ſlain in the battle which was fought by Æneas againſt Turnus, king of the Rutilians, tells us, that they caſt into the flames helmets, ſwords, bridles, and chariot wheels, and that the by-ſtanders alſo threw in coſtly gifts.

Æneid xi.

The next thing to be conſidered is, the monuments erected over the bodies, or aſhes of the dead, and whether it was a general or particular cuſtom with the antient nations to erect ſuch monuments, which on a careful ſurvey and examination of the different authors, will appear to be only made in honour of great heroes, kings, and ſoldiers ſlain in battle, or in commemoration of ſome memorable event. I will begin with the Jews, and the firſt mention that I find in holy writ of their ſepulchres, is where Abraham (who was come into a ſtrange land on the death of Sarah) is bargaining with the ſons of Heth for a place of burial; they civilly offered him his choice of any one of their ſepulchres, but he being willing to ſecure a place of burial not only for Sarah, but for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, purchaſed "the field that was before Mamre, in which was the cave of Macpelah, and there he buried Sarah." Afterwards we find Jacob ſwearing Joſeph his ſon to bury him in this *family monument*, "where (ſays he) they buried Abraham, and Sarah his wife; where they buried Iſaac, and Rebecca his wife; and where I buried Leah." Thus we find, that the family monuments of the Jews were nothing more than caverns, covered only with a ſtone: for ſuch we find in after ages was the tomb of our Saviour, "hewn out of a rock, and a great ſtone rolled to the door." And that of Lazarus was a cave, with a ſtone laid upon it. Now it ſometimes happened that while the Patriarchs were on their travels, ſome of their family might die by the way, and they being too far from their own ſepulchre to convey the body to it, were conſtrained to bury it on the ſpot, yet they never failed to leave ſome pious memorial of the corpſe there buried. Thus when Rachael died in child-bed, at the delivery of Benjamin, ſhe was buried by the way ſide, and "Jacob ſet a pillar on her grave, that is called the pillar of Rachael's grave unto this day."

Gen. ch. 23 v. 17.

Ibid. chap. 49, ver. 30.

Matthew, chap. 27, ver. 60.

John, chap. 40, ver. 38.

Gen. chap. 35, ver. 20.

But monuments raiſed over the bodies of the dead were not always honorary; for Achan, who was ſtoned to death (for ſtealing of the treaſure which was by God accurſed) had a heap of ſtones thrown up over him; and ſo had the king Ai, who was hanged at the command of Joſhua; ſo alſo Joab, after that he had ſlain Abſalom, threw him into a pit, "and raiſed a very great heap of ſtones over him."

Joſh. chap. 7, ver. 26.

Ibid. chap. 8. ver. 29.

2 Sam. chap. 18. ver. 17.

We find the ſepulchres of the kings diſtinguiſhed from their family caverns. The remains of the burnt bones of Saul and Jonathan, were buried in the ſepulchre of Kiſh, Saul's father. Moſt of the kings from David's time, were buried in the city of David; "and Aſa ſlept with his fathers, and they buried him in his own ſepulchre, which he had made for himſelf in the city of David, and laid him in a bed which was filled with ſweet odours, and divers kind of ſpices prepared by the apothecary's art;* and they made a very great burning for him." And again we are told, that at the funeral of Jehoram, a wicked king, that his people made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers. † Howbeit they buried him in the city of David, but not in the ſepulchres of the kings."

2 Chron. chap. 16. ver. 13 & 14.

Ibid. chap. 21, ver. 20.

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* From this cuſtom of the Jews, of laying their kings on beds with ſpices, precious ointments, &c. and ſolemnizing the funerals with burning, perhaps came that of the heathen nations, of laying an image of the deceaſed on a rich bed filled with odours and ſpices, which was with vaſt pomp carried to the place of burial, and there burnt with many great and ſolemn ceremonies. This muſt be only underſtood to be at the conſecration of thoſe emperors who were deified after their death: ſee the 4th book of Herodian. Theſe ceremonies were performed after the obſequies of the true body.

† We muſt not conclude from hence that the Iſraelites uſed to burn the bodies of their kings, for this paſſage is fuller explained in Jeremiah, who prophecying concerning the death of Zedekiah, ſays, "But thou ſhalt die in peace, and with the burnings of thy fathers, the former kings which were before thee,

Their common family tombs were ſet apart in particular places for that purpoſe; for the man poſſeſſed with the legion of devils, is expreſſly ſaid in St. Mark's Goſpel, to have had his dwelling among the tombs." And St. Matthew expreſſes it, " coming out of the tombs, &c".

Mark chap. v. ver. 3.
Mat. chap. 8. ver. 28.

Next we will conſider the Egyptians, who did not inter the bodies of their dead friends, but they being embalmed, were put into wooden coffins, and ſet round about in their habitations; alſo at their feaſts they were ſet forth about the table. And, ſays Lucian, one being in want of money, is ſupplied by giving his father or brother in pledge. Yet ſtill for their kings and nobles they had ſtately monuments, and large pyramids of ſtone: " What are theſe (ſays Dugdale) but ſo many huge barrows of maſonry inſtead of earth." And Servius informs us, that with the antients, noblemen were buried either under mountains, or in mountains, whence came the cuſtom that over the dead, either pyramids were made or huge columns erected. Pauſanias tells us, that the cuſtom of burial among the antient Sicyonians, was to cover the body over with earth and raiſe pillars over it.

Greaves's Deſcrip. of the Pyramids
Lucian
In his Warwickſhire.
Ser. Com. in Æneid xi.
Pauſan. Corinth. lib. 2.

Now then we come to thoſe of the Greeks and Romans, who beſides their coſtly mauſoleums, and the other vaſt monuments of their kings and emperors, had alſo monuments of leſs beauty, though of equal honour, which are large heaps of earth, called *barrows*, though ſome are made of ſtones and earth mixed, and others though few, of ſtones alone.

Borlace's Ant. of Cornwall

The moſt antient barrow we read of, is that of Ninus, the founder of the Aſſyrian empire, whoſe queen, Semiramis, raiſed a tomb of earth over him. Of the Greeks, Homer hath left us the deſcription of that raiſed by Achilles, in honour of his friend Patroclus.

> That done they bid the ſepulchre aſpire,
> And caſt the deep foundation round the pyre;
> High in the midſt they raiſed the ſwelling bed,
> Of riſing earth memorial of the dead.

Pope's Homer's Il. 23.

And alſo that of Hector.

Iliad 24.

> Laſt o'er the urn, both ſtones and earth they ſpread,
> And raiſed the tomb, memorial of the dead.

So Sophocles in his Antigone, makes the meſſenger deſcribe to Eurydice, the funeral of Polynices in this manner. " I followed your huſband to the field, where lay the miſerable body of Polynices torn to pieces by the dogs; (and beſeeching the goddeſs of the ways *Proſerpine*, kindly to reſtrain her rage) they waſhed in ſacred water what was left of the body, and with green boughs we burnt it, and raiſed a high tomb of earth that was hard by."

Sophocles in his Trag. of Antigone Act 5th

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thee, ſo ſhall they burn odours for thee, and lament for thee, &c." The burning of the bodies of Saul and his ſons by the men of Jabeſh Gilead, is the only inſtance in the whole bible; and this may be well accounted for, when we conſider that the bodies muſt have been ſome time dead, from which cauſe they might be ſo offenſive as to require immediate tumulation; and they burnt them, leſt the enraged enemy might again root them up, and miſuſe them. I am very much ſurpriſed that Claude Guichard ſhould have quoted the above prophecy, to prove that the Jews really did burn the bodies of their dead, when it ſo plainly declares, that the odours were burnt in memory of their kings, and not the body with them. See Claude Guichard's Funerailles & diverſes manieres d'enſevelir des Rommains, Grecs, & autres Nations, &c. $3^{\text{me.}}$ livre chap. xi.

The ſame cuſtom (according to Virgil) was uſual among the ancient Laurentines.

Trapp's Vir. Book xi.

> Beneath a lofty hill, a tomb there ſtood
> Of high rais'd earth; for king Dercernus reared,
> Antient Laurentian king, and cover'd o'er
> With gloomy oak.

This author alſo deſcribes Æneas, performing the ſame pious work in honor of his loſt friend.

Ib. lib. 3.

> Then ſtraight a lofty tomb of earth we made,
> Sacred memorial of loſt Polydore.

The Saxons, and other antient northern nations, had theſe tombs in conſequence of a law made by *Woden*. Shering. 252 *Woden* enacted a law, that the dead ſhould be burned with all their moveables, eſpecially their money, for thoſe ſhould be eſteemed moſt welcome to the gods that had the greateſt quantity of treaſure burnt with them. He alſo further ordained, that they ſhould raiſe large heaps of earth over thoſe that were ſlain in battle; and on the monuments of thoſe who had performed any great and glorious actions, there ſhould be erected high obeliſks inſcribed with the Runic character. And Wormius gives us the following account of the Daniſh funeral ceremonies, which he diſtinguiſhes into three ages. Ola. Wormius Dan. Monum. p. 40. The firſt Roiſold, the ſecond Hoigold, and the third Chriſtendoms-Old. The brief matter of his explanation is this: the firſt Roiſold, Brende-tiid *(the age of burning)* was when the defunct was brought out in the fields near the highway, or eſtate that belonged to him while living; where they made an oblong place with great ſtones for the reception of the body, and there burnt it, collecting the aſhes into an urn; round which they ſet great ſtones; then with ſand, gravel, or earth, they throwed up a little hillock in form of a mount. The ſecond was called Hoigold or Hoelſtiid, *(the age of burying)* which was when the body was brought entire with its ornaments, and laid (unburnt) in the middle of a large circle of ſtones, then over it they (as before) raiſed a mount of earth, &c. theſe mounts were ſometimes plain, made only of earth, and caſt up like a cone, and ſometimes they were ornamented with a circle of ſtones, but this was only for their generals and great men. The third age was Chriſtendoms-Old, which was when chriſtianity began to prevail, and they buried as we are wont to do at this time.

Borlace Barrows (as was before obſerved) were built of different materials. Some have ſuppoſed that thoſe of earth alone, were of a ſort inferior to the reſt; but the contrary may be eaſily proved, that of Ninus was of earth, as was alſo that of Patroclus, as well as that of Dercernus mentioned by Virgil. I am ready to think that among the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, barrows of ſtones were rather marks of diſhonour and indignity, than to perpetuate the fame of thoſe buried under them. With the Jews we read of Achan ſtoned for theft; the king Ai who was hanged; and Abſalom who had rebelled againſt his father, were all buried under heaps of ſtones. And of the Greeks we are told, that Laius was with his ſervants (who were ſlain by Oedipus) ſo buried; we are to Virgil remember that Oedipus took Laius and his followers for robbers. And with the Romans, Virgil thus informs us in his diſtich on the famous robber Baliſta.

"Monte ſub hoc lapidem tegitur Baliſta ſepultus."
Under this mount of ſtones, lies Baliſta buried.

It is objected indeed, that the tumulus of Hector was of ſtones and earth: but if we conſider well that paſſage in Homer, we ſhall find it expreſſes "pouring them on," which is well explained by Camden. "It was (ſays he) an antient cuſtom for every ſoldier that ſurvived after a battle, to bring his cap full of earth and pour it out upon the dead body of his fellow, ſo that this expreſſion of "ſtones and earth poured on," ſeems only to be a poetical deſcription of the earth and ſtones as they are commonly mixed together, poured from the helmets of the ſoldiers; or perhaps Homer may have only ſo mentioned it, to make a trifling variation from that funeral ſo lately deſcribed of Patroclus. But even admitting this to be made of ſtones and earth mixed together, it can by no means prove that thoſe made of large rude ſtones alone, ſhould not be monuments of diſgrace. With the Danes indeed it is certain, that they were by no means diſgraceful; for Wormius tells us, that thoſe of their noblemen were, for diſtinction ſake, ornamented with ſtones. And it is alſo proved, not only by the heap of ſtones called *hubble ſtow*, thrown up over the body of Hubba the Dane; but by the multitude of thoſe monuments wherever thoſe people landed, and committed their depredations, that were with them monuments of honour. "Theſe tumuli are moſtly large heaps of ſtones (ſays Camden) done up without any order, and moſt probably were brought here and ſhot down in a heap promiſcuouſly: and it was (continues he) cuſtomary in many places ſo to bury ſelf-murderers, and malefactors: and in Wales, where they are called *Karns*, the moſt paſſionate wiſh that one man can make to another, is that a *karn* may be his monument: and 'tis alſo the name for the moſt deſperate and baſeſt of villains. Theſe ſays he, were antiently the funeral piles of men of the moſt diſtinguiſhed quality; but on the introduction of chriſtianity, they became monuments of diſgrace." Now if this was the true reaſon, why did not the *Kiſt Vean* another ſort of ſtone monument, and always held honourable, as well as barrows of earth, &c. fall under the ſame predicament? The reaſon moſt probably was, becauſe the Britons always held the *karns* diſhonourable, while on the contrary, the *Kiſt-vean* being the ancient eſteemed monuments of their fore-fathers, was yet held ſacred, and put them in remembrance of their old manners. The Anglo-Saxons indeed might diſlike them becauſe they were much uſed by the Danes; as 'tis known how much that nation was hated by the Engliſh, and ſo very diſtaſteful their cuſtoms were to them, that on their departure it was held a diſgrace to retain the leaſt tracings of them.

Camd. Brit.

Wormius
See Stow's Chron.

Camd. Brit.

For the ſize of all theſe barrows there was no fixed rule, that depending entirely on the quality and well-deſerving of the party deceaſed: the old one of Ninus is ſaid to have been nine furlongs high, and ten broad; and that which Achilles made for Patroclus, though a moderate one, was one hundred feet in diameter (the ſize of the funeral pile) Achilles thus gives his order:

Borlaſe.

Mean time erect the tomb with pious hands,
A common ſtructure on the humble ſands,
Hereafter Greece ſome nobler work may raiſe,
And late poſterity record our praiſe,

Iliad 23.

Which nobler work the ſucceeding Greeks piouſly did perform, and raiſed the tumulus to ſo great a height, that it ſerved as a ſea-mark to thoſe that ſailed in the Heleſpont. We have alſo ſome barrows of an immenſe ſize here in England. So great was the expence which many beſtowed upon theſe monuments, Plato that Plato adviſed, that none but barren places ſhould be choſen for the burial of the dead; and that no ſepulchre ſhould be thrown up larger than what five men in five days could compleat.

Tyrants, parricides, and other criminals, among the Danes and other northern nations, were denied, both urns and tumuli; their bodies were burnt, and their aſhes thrown into the air, or ſcattered into the river.

Saxo Gram.

> "Non urna, non tumulus nefandas oſſium reliquias claudet
> Nullum parricidii veſtigium maneat."

But on the contrary, no pains or labour were ſpared to enlarge and adorn the barrows of good men, and great heroes, often ornamenting them with immenſe ſtones, inſomuch that they were three years in compleating a ſingle one. *Haraldus* it is ſaid, employed his whole army and a great number of oxen Borlaſe Ant. Cornwall. in drawing one vaſt ſtone to adorn the monument of his mother.

Theſe barrows were not always erected over the body or aſhes of the dead, for if they were loſt, the tumulus was erected to their memory; thus we find Æneid. 3. Æneas raiſing a heap of earth, "a memorial of loſt Polydore." And Cæſar Hiſt. Rom. alſo made a barrow on the ſpot where the body of his rival Pompey had been burnt.

Thus we find that though moſt nations had theſe extraordinary monuments for their kings and heroes, yet they had alſo their vaults and common places of burial. Among the Jews the ſepulchers of their kings, &c. were diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the better ſort, who had their family caves or caverns for their dead. Although the Egyptians did not inter their dead, yet they had their pyramids and other ſtately monuments for their kings and diſtinguiſhed heroes: and in all the Grecian and Roman hiſtories, we do not find theſe tumuli raiſed over others than great men, or ſuch as fell in battle; they having alſo their common places of burial without the cities. And for the northern nations, the law of Woden, though it commands all the dead to be burnt, yet confines the tumuli to thoſe ſlain in battle, kings, &c. And that the ſame cuſtoms were obſerved alſo in England, is proved by theſe tumuli being generally found near the ways, or ſtations of the Romans; or elſe where ſome battle is, by his hiſtory, recorded to have been decided, or hero ſlain. It ſhould be here remarked, that there has not been many antiquities of the Romans found in barrows, but large quantities in the more common burying grounds near their ſtations, and without their cities, or the ſides of their great roads; and theſe are moſt frequently diſcovered without the leaſt mark or veſtige of any kind of funeral monuments. Hence 'tis evident that they (like other nations) did erect barrows only on particular occaſions; their general method of interments being performed in their common places of burial.

Monuments, &c. yet remaining in England.

Before I enter upon this ſubject, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat of the old Druids: Martin tells us, that they neither uſed urns, or raiſed barrows over their dead: " yet ſays Mr. Borlaſe, he informs us, that they allowed urns to thoſe unhappy victims who periſhed at their ſacrifices and religious rites: but (continues he) is it likely that they ſhould allow ſuch funeral ornaments to thoſe wretched victims, as they denied to their own chiefs, and kings?" and again, in another place (he ſays) " what kind of ſepulchers they had, may be diſputed; but without queſtion, they burned their dead, and therefore it is moſt reaſonable to think that the chief prieſts and great men, had urns which they placed in a grave or ſtone vault (KIST VEAN.)" But I have not heard of urns found under either the *Cromlech*, or *Kiſt Vean*; for the remains there dug up, are either aſhes or entire bones, which I ſhall endeavour to account for in the deſcription of thoſe monuments: and in the mean time, I will only remark, that it will be a matter very difficult to prove that the Druids had either urns for themſelves, or for their victims.

Martin's Hiſt. of the Druids.

Antiq. Cornwall.

The monuments found in England, are chiefly of theſe ſorts:

Firſt, *Barrows* of earth, of ſtones, and of ſtones and earth.
Secondly, *Obeliſks*, with and without inſcriptions.
Thirdly, the *Cromlech*, or ſtone table.
Fourthly, the *Kiſt Vean*, or ſtone cheſt.
Fifthly, *Rocking Stones*, &c.

Of Barrows.

Barrows which are heaps of earth, &c. thrown up, of different forms and ſizes, and are thus divided:

Stukeley's Stone-Hege.

Firſt, ſmall circular trenches with a little elevation in the middle, theſe are called (by Dr. Stukeley) Druid Barrows.

Secondly, ordinary barrows of a conical form.

Thirdly, barrows ſurrounded with a ditch and vallum, and are moſt commonly made in the ſhape of a well-turned bell.

Fourthly, oblong barrows, both with and without trenches.

Fifthly, oblong barrows with ſtones ſet in order all round them.

Sixthly, a ſort of barrows like horſe ſhoes, (mentioned by Stukeley) and found near the earth-work of what he calls *alatæ* or winged temples.

Stuk. Aubrey.

Barrows are for the moſt part ſepulchral, for on opening of them there are generally found either urns, or coffins, in thoſe of the better ſort; and in thoſe which are ruder, inſtead of urns, the aſhes or carcaſs of the defunct were laid in a cavern cut out of the ſolid earth, for their reception; eſpecially where the ſoil was of a chalky nature. They were generally built of ſuch materials as were eaſieſt come at: though it has been ſaid by ſome authors that they fetched them from afar off; becauſe (ſay they) the greater the diſtance from which the materials were brought, the more honourable was the funeral pile eſteemed; But Mr. Borlaſe has evidently proved to the contrary: and Dugdale has very ingeniouſly accounted for there being no appearance or mark near theſe barrows, from whence the earth or ſtones of which they were compoſed, was taken; " becauſe (ſays he) they ſkimmed the ſurface of the ground round about, and with the green turfs thrown up, they formed the mount or tumulus."

Ant. Corn.
Dugdale's Warwickſhire.

There

Camden's Brit.

There are ſome inſtances of theſe barrows not being ſepulchral, for Camden telling us of coals dug out of a hill at Stanford Cone, in Northamptonſhire; adds, "Siculus Flaccus ſays, that either aſhes, coals, or potſheards and broken glaſs, together with bones half burnt, lime, plaiſter and mortar were wont to be put under their (the antients) land-marks or limits." And St. Auguſtine alſo ſays, "is it not a wonderful thing, conſidering that coals are ſo brittle, that with the leaſt touch they break, with the leaſt preſſure they are cruſhed to pieces, yet no time can conquer them, inſomuch that they that pitched land-marks, were wont to throw them underneath, to convince any litigious fellow whatever, that ſhould come ever ſo long after, and would affirm that no land-mark had been made?"

In the County of Eſſex.

Happening myſelf to be (in the year 1773) making ſome curious reſearches near Maldon, I was informed, that at a place called *Burrough-hills*, (from a number of barrows that are there remaining) a large hill had been dug down by the owner of the field wherein it ſtood; and that in making a deep ditch acroſs one part of it, they came to aſhes, brickbats, potſheards, and the like. Curioſity naturallly led me to the place, where I carefully examined the above particulars. When I came there, I found it to be of an oblong form and of a great extent; though at preſent, not above five feet above the common ſurface of the ground.—The ditch which has been dug in it, is in general about four feet deep; and all along, in a ſtraight line, from one end of the hill to the other, (about a foot thick at the bottom of the ditch) lie theſe potſheards, and ſeem (from their preſent ſituation) to have been firſt regularly ſpread over the whole ſurface of the ground, and over them was thrown the earth, of which the hill was made. Indeed I ſhould obſerve, that above this row of bricks, potſheards, &c. is a thick ſtiff clay for full one foot (or rather more) in height, and from thence to the top of the hill an exceeding rich mould. I cauſed ſome to be dug out, and found bits of large ſquare bricks, bits of ill-ſhapen clumſy pots of common red clay, upwards of one inch thick, which did not ſeem ever to have been baked; with pieces of more ſhapely and handſome veſſels, urns, &c. but none whole. I alſo found cinders and charcoal very perfect, together with bits of bones (not human) ſo very rotten, as to be cruſhed to pieces with the leaſt preſſure. I picked out of a great quantity of theſe things (for ſeveral cart loads were found) ſome of the moſt perfect, which I have preſerved ſtill by me. This mount cannot be a funeral monument, becauſe of the vaſt quantity of theſe veſſels, as well as from the narrow compaſs they lie in, and the ſtrange mixture of ſuch different materials: the place itſelf (near the water ſide) is not unlikely to require a land mark or limit.

Dr. Salmon.

See alſo Hen. Hunt

The other hills near it (which are barrows) are evidently of a different form, being like an obtuſe cone, and much ſmaller than the above deſcribed, not bearing the leaſt analogy to it. The late Dr. Salmon, a phyſician, at Chelmsford, (who was both a learned and ingenious man) ſuppoſes the barrows (for this hill eſcaped his notice, becauſe it had much more the appearance of a natural hill, than one raiſed by art) were funeral ſepulchers of the Danes and Saxons; for he imagined (which is not at all unlikely) that the Danes came up this river, with intent to ravage the coaſts, but were met by the Saxons who oppoſed their landing; and ſo a bloody conflict enſuing, theſe were left as the ſtanding monuments thereof, erected either on or near the ſpot where the battle was decided.

The barrows of ſtone, or *karns*, were not always funeral; for Giraldus Cambrienſis, making mention of Harold's expedition into Wales, where he ravaged the country through and through, "inſomuch (ſaith mine author) that he ſcarcely left any alive behind him." And in memory of which total defeat, he threw up many hillocks of ſtones (after the antient cuſtom) in thoſe places where he obtained victories, with pillars containing this inſcription.

Camden Girald. Camb.

"*Hic fuit victor Haraldus.*"

Obeliſks, Pillars, &c.

Pillars and obeliſks are ſometimes with and ſometimes without inſcriptions, ſome ſtand by themſelves, and others (like thoſe of the Danes) are ſurrounded with earth or ſtones, or elſe they ſtand on barrows; and ſome of them are ornamented with ſcrole or moſaic work, bearing at times the repreſentation of a croſs, with rude antique figures, &c. the laſt of which ſeem to be what were ſet up in the beginning of Chriſtianity, not only by the Saxons, but the Britons themſelves, to whom we may attribute thoſe of the ruder ſort: they are ſays Mr. Borlaſe, ſometimes ſepulchral, and ſometimes in memory of particular and memorable actions, or military trophies, and ſometimes they are boundaries.

Camden Brit.

Plott's Staffordſhire

Antiq. of Cornwall

Theſe ſort of pillars, together with rude ſtones, were often ſet up by the Patriarchs, on particular occaſions, or in memory of ſome great accident. Abſalom ſet up a pillar, ſaying, "I have no ſon to keep my name in remembrance." So he called the pillar after his own name, to perpetuate his memory to future time. Such were the pillars ſet up by Hercules at the extent of his conqueſts, &c.

2. Sam. ch. 18. ver. 18.

Of the Cromlech, and Kiſt-Vean *(or Stone Cheſt.)*

The Kiſt-Vean and Cromlech, are often put for each other, and in ſhort, are ſeldom properly diſtinguiſhed. The cromlech, or ſtone table, is a flat ſtone laid acroſs two or three others, and ſometimes more, which were ſet perpendicular. Theſe are by Stukeley and others, all called *Kiſt-Veans*, but Camden very clearly diſtinguiſhes them from each other, who, in deſcribing a *Kiſt Vean* which he ſaw in *Cardingſhire*, writes thus: "it was four feet long, and three in breadth, compoſed of four ſtones, one at each end and two ſide ones; the higheſt is a foot out of the ground, and is called the grave of the Welch poet Talieſin-ben-beirdh." The biſhop of London tells us of a rude barrow compoſed of earth, ſtones and turfs, ſuppoſed to be Britiſh, and a royal ſepulcher, "becauſe, ſays he, it is too rude for the Romans, and for the Saxons and Danes, they had nought to do here any farther than plundering the ſea coaſts: a flat ſtone (continues he) on the top being removed, under it was found a barbarous monument, called a *ſtone cheſt*, 3 feet long, and 4 broad, narrower at the eaſt than at the weſt, made of ſeven ſtones; the covering ſtone being one, two ſide ſtones, two end ones, and one behind each of the end ſtones by way of bolſter; all equally rude and thick, except the two laſt which were the largeſt and thickeſt; in it were ſeen pieces of bricks, &c. but not going to the bottom of the cheſt, we cannot tell what further

Stukeley's Aubery.

Camden's Deſcrip. of Cardingſhire

Additions to Pembrokeſhire

further there was therein." Now how properly this bears the name of *ſtone cheſt* will ſtrike every one; and how different from the cromlech, one of which is deſcribed by Camden, and called *Lhech y Gowres*: "it is compoſed, ſays he, of one vaſt ſtone placed on four pillars, 5 or 6 feet high, and two others on an end under the top ſtone, but much lower, ſo as to bear no part of the weight; three rude ſtones lay on the ground beſide it, and at a little diſtance ſtands another rude ſtone, which probably bears ſome reference to it:" and another is the monument of Catergerne, ſon to Vortimer king of the Britons, which is alſo of the table kind, and is thus deſcribed by Stow who ſaw it: "It is, ſays he, compoſed of four flat ſtones, one of them ſtanding upright in the middle of two others, and the fourth laid flat aloft on the other three, and is of ſuch height, that men may ſtand on either ſide the middle ſtone in time of a ſtorm or tempeſt, ſafe from the wind and rain: about one coits caſt from this monument lieth another great ſtone, much part thereof is in the earth, as if fallen down from where the ſame had been fixed:" theſe and ſuch like, are moſt properly called *tables*, while the former are *ſtone cheſts* *. Both theſe are ſuppoſed always to be ſepulchral.

Camden's Brit.

In Kent

Stow's Chron.

Rocking Stones.

Borlaſe Camden

Rocking ſtones are compoſed of large ſtones laid acroſs others on ſo juſt an equilibrium, that they may be moved backward and forward with the greateſt eaſe; there are but few of theſe in the kingdom, and it is not known to what uſe the antients appropriated theſe monuments, ſome have ſaid that they were for religious purpoſes, and others have ſuppoſed them to be ſepulchral.

Borlaſe Antiq. of Cornwall

Add to theſe huge ſtones with holes made in them, that are often found in Cornwall, and other parts of the kingdom, which Mr. Borlaſe does not take be ſepulchral, but that the Druids cauſed them to be erected for ſome religious purpoſes; and tells us of the aboliſhment of an old cuſtom, from a French author, "Qu'on ne faſſe point paſſer le batail par un arbre cruex" *(that they ſhould not make their cattle paſs through the trees with holes in them,)* and adds, that men crept through one of thoſe perforated ſtones in Cornwall, for pains in their backs and limbs: parents alſo drew their children through at certain times of the year, to cure them of the rickets. So he fancies that they are faint remains of the old Druid ſuperſtition, who held great ſtones as ſacred and holy.

Now the chief difficulty will be to determine, which of thoſe remaining monuments ought to be attributed to the Britons, which to the Romans, or which to the Saxons, Danes, &c. On a ſtrict examination, not only of the things themſelves, but nicely obſerving, and comparing the different opinions of thoſe authors who have wrote concerning them, together with ſuch things as have been found in or near them, I think the following concluſions may be drawn with the greateſt juſtice.

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* Mr. Wallace deſcribes ſome antient ſtone monuments in the iſland of Orkney. "In the links of Skeal (ſays he) where the ſand was blown away, were found four ſquare tombs of ſtone well cemented together, about a foot ſquare, covered with a ſtone at top. One was found which was of an entire round ſtone like a barrel, on the top was a large ſtone, anſwerable to preſerve the whole; nothing was found therein but red clay, and burnt bones, which, ſays he, are perhaps Roman," and that is very likely, for they had ſtone boxes or cheſts, like theſe juſt deſcribed, in which the urns of the better ſort of people were depoſited, to keep them the longer from decay: but theſe are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the rude cheſts of our anceſtors; thoſe of the Romans have moſtly inſcriptions, or bas reliefs upon them, and coins, &c. contained within them.

Firſt, that ſuch rude barrows as are found with a hole ſimply cut in the earth, for the reception of the bones, or aſhes, and covered with a ſtone, or blocked up with ſtones, or having thoſe barbarous cheſts, or *kiſt-veans*, (before deſcribed) on the top of them, together with the *kiſt-vean* by itſelf without a barrow, are all moſt probably (not to ſay certainly) the rude ſepulchral tombs of the ancient Britons, and that not only from their barbarous form and conſtruction, but from the great difference between them and the monuments of any other nation in the known world. The *cromlech* (or tables) with other monuments of that kind, whether covered with an impoſt or not, may undoubtedly be attributed to the conſtructors of theſe ſtupendous ſtructures Stonehenge, Aubery, &c. which without doubt were alſo the works of the Britons; and theſe tables may have been the ancient monuments of their kings and chief Druids, while the *kiſt-vean* and the rude barrows were to perpetuate the fame of their great generals, and other men of note. Both in the *kiſt-vean*, barrows, &c. as well as under the tables, are often found the aſhes of ſuch as were burnt, and the entire bones of thoſe who were buried, without the leaſt appearance of burning; it may therefore be objected, that as the Britons conſtantly burnt their dead, the unburnt bones could not be the remains of their dead, and ſo of courſe the monuments muſt not be attributed to them. I anſwer, without doubt the Britons, while ignorant of the truths of chriſtianity, did burn the dead, yet, on their converſion, this cuſtom was by degrees aboliſhed, and as no old and ſtanding cuſtoms are left off entirely at once, ſo though they neglected to burn the dead, yet they for a time erected monuments in imitation of their forefathers: thus was Catigerne buried under a table or *cromlech*.

Thoſe barrows that are found near the Roman ways or ſtations, (for the Romans were forbid by the law of the twelve tables to bury in their cities or camps, &c.) which when opened are found to contain urns of fine earthen ware, or others more coſtly, and of handſome workmanſhip; and if in the urns are found (excluſive of aſhes) inſtruments of Roman conſtruction, or, which is an undoubted proof, Roman coin, ſuch may without the leaſt heſitation be attributed to that people. Beſides the things abovementioned, they put into their urns lamps, lachrymatories, (ſuch ſmall veſſels as were filled with purchaſed tears) and other utenſils of mourning. There have been inſtances of finding a lamp ſtill burning on opening ſome of their ancient ſepulchral repoſitories. Camden tells us, that the tomb of Conſtantine was found at York, in the walls of the city, and that on opening it there was diſcovered a lamp ſtill burning. The antients (continues he) had the art of diſſolving gold in a fat liquor, and ſo preparing it, that it would, if undiſturbed, burn for ages. Weaver alſo informs us, that at Coggerſhall in Eſſex, an urn was diſcovered by ſome labourers, and on the top of it was a Roman tile, which being taken off, a lamp was found burning, but that it ſoon extinguiſhed on being expoſed to the freſh air; and with it was found a curious *patera*, or little diſh, of fine red earth, inſcribed COCCILLI:M.

See page 56.

Borlaſe

Camden in Yorkſhire.

Funeral Mon. p. 168.

Combs, inlaid boxes, nippers, favorite jewels, bracelets, &c. are often found in the urns of the women, and alſo in the rude cheſts and female tombs of the Britons: when theſe are found in barrows, they are likely to be either Britiſh or Saxon, becauſe barrows were only erected for thoſe who by their valour and courage had made themſelves famous; and among the Britons, not only men but women often led the battles, or at leaſt ſhared the common danger of war with the men, therefore 'tis but juſtly reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the ſame monuments ſhould be for them erected, as were ſet up in honour of their noble men, and that with them alſo they burnt or buried their ornaments; ſo that thoſe found in the rude tombs of the Britons, as above deſcribed, may be attributed certainly to them; and thoſe found in urns in the more ſhapely and handſome barrows, may be Saxon; for we do not want inſtances of the courage and reſolution of the Saxon women. Seburgh, (wife to Kenwald, king of the Weſt Saxons) took upon her the government of the kingdom, on the death of her huſband, acting with great ſpirit and reſolution: and Elfleda, or Ethelfleda, (daughter to Ælfred, whom Speed calls the Engliſh Zenobia) perſonally attended the wars, gaining many ſignal victories over her enemies.

Wm. of Malmſbury. Hen. Huntingd. 204.

Speed Chron.

But when ſuch trinkets are found in the burying ground of the Romans, (without barrows) or in fine and well-ſhaped urns, they are moſt likely to have belonged to ſome of that people: but the beſt way of deciding ſuch matters will be by the workmanſhip; the urns, &c. of the Romans in general much exceeding thoſe of our anceſtors both in ſhape and elegance, and more particularly in the fineneſs of the clay. Roman urns have been alſo found of braſs, ſome of glaſs, and others of porphry, &c.

In other barrows, particularly thoſe of ſtone, if there ſhould on opening them be found rude urns, (often of unbaked clay) or in default of them the aſhes, together with the bones of animals are found on the ſurface of the ground, with the ſtones or earth heaped over them, (and more certainly if near the ſea ſide) they may rather be attributed to the Danes than to the Saxons; for the Danes continued much longer in ignorance of the chriſtian faith than the Saxons therefore may reaſonably be thought much longer to continue their ſuperſtitious rites; and the reaſon why their monuments are found ſo imperfect, may be, that in their pirating and ravaging the coaſts, the enemy might ſuddenly ſurpriſe them, and make an inſtant retreat neceſſary for the common ſafety of them all; ſo that bringing all their dead together, they immediately burnt them, raking the aſhes up in a heap; or if they could come at clay, making rude clumſey urns for their reception, (not ſtaying to bake them any otherwiſe than might be done by ſetting them before the fire of the funeral pile) over which they haſtily reared rude heaps of ſtones or earth, or whatever came firſt to hand. But when ſtone coffins, or ſkeletons entire, are found without any mark of burning, they may rather be taken for Saxon than Daniſh, becauſe the Saxons becoming chriſtians ſoon after their arrival, left off their heatheniſh method of burning; though they ſtill continued to raiſe high mounts, and to erect ſumptuous monuments in honour of their dead ſlain in battle, as well as of their victories, holding it by no means contrary to their received faith, to perpetuate the fame of good and great men.

See Hollingſhead's Account of Barklow Hills.

It was common with both the Saxons and the Danes to bury with the dead knives, arrow and ſpear heads, ſwords, axes, and other implements of war, the axe is by many thought (though unjuſtly) to be Daniſh only, ſo alſo urns found upſide down are attributed to that people. Coins are very ſeldom found in the urns, &c. of either the Saxons or the Danes.

"In the links of Skeal, where the ſand was blown away, were found graves, in one of which was a man lying, with his ſword on one hand, and a Daniſh axe on the other: others were found with combs, knives, and often dogs, which had

See in Cam. Wallace's Acccount of the Iſland of Orkney.

been buried with them; which, ſays Mr. Wallace, ſeems to be an inſtance of the Daniſh manner of interment, (perhaps on their firſt embracing of the chriſtian faith;) and there are alſo many little hillocks, which (continues he) may have been the burying places of the *Peights*, (or *Pights)* and Saxons. In one of the hillocks were found nine fibulæ of ſilver, like a horſeſhoe, only round; theſe moſt likely were the ſame with the bracelet deſcribed (page 47.) which has often been miſtaken for a *fibula*, but there clearly proved to be a Saxon bracelet.

Now having brought the funeral ceremonies of the antients down to the time of chriſtianity, it will be requiſite in the next place to conſider what alterations were then made, and how it affected the old cuſtoms and ceremonies of our anceſtors.

In a letter from Dr. Woodward to Sir Chriſtopher Wren, concerning ſuch things as were found when Biſhopſgate was pulled down, and new foundations laid, he tells us, that among other antiquities then found, they diſcovered many urns with aſhes and burnt bones, together with entire ſkeletons without the leaſt mark of burning, which he thus accounts for, "Until the firſt beginning of ſepulture without burning took place, the Romans generally uſed to burn their dead, (though Numa and ſome few others were buried) but as chriſtianity began to prevail amongſt them, it was in the end totally abandoned; yet (ſays he) to fix the time preciſely will not be very eaſy, becauſe no doubt it was a conſiderable time before it was entirely left off, ſome chuſing yet to continue the old cuſtoms that they had learned of their forefathers, as may be proved by finding urns, with burnt bones in the common cœmeteries, with the entire ſkeletons of the buried bodies, &c. Publiſhed by Hearne in Leland.

And the biſhop of London, ſpeaking of the old works of *Wroxceſter*, the *Uronium* of the antients, (after telling us of many Roman and other antiquities being found) ſays, "the way of burial here (when they did not burn the corps, and put the aſhes into an urn) has been obſerved to be thus: Firſt, they made a deep grave, in the bottom whereof they fixed a bed of very red clay, and upon that laid the body; with the ſame ſort of clay they covered it, fencing the clay with a ſort of thin ſlates againſt the mould or earth, which would otherwiſe have been apt to break through to the dead bodies: laſtly, they filled the grave, and covered it with great ſtones, ſometimes five or ſix upon a grave, which are now ſhrunk into the earth: ſome part of the bones thus interred (that have happened to lie dry in the clay) remain pretty ſound to this day." "It is not all ſurpriſing, (ſays Dr. Woodward) that the bones ſhould continue ſo long, when 'tis conſidered that they were found in a clay ſo ſtiff and cloſe, that they might, had they not been diſturbed, have laſted for many ages longer." "As to the urns of Wroxceſter, (adds the biſhop) there are ſeveral of them have been found whole in the memory of man, when they have had occaſion to dig three or four feet deep in the ſandy land; for as the dead bodies are buried in red clay, ſo the urns are lodged in a red ſand." Camden's Brit. Additions, Col. 522.

Leland tells us, that "at Northburn was the palace or Maner of Edbalde, Ethelbert's ſunne. There, but a few yeres ſyns, yn breking a ſide of the walle, yn the howle were found two children's bones, that had bene mured up as yn burielle yn tyme of Paganite of the Saxons; among one of the children's bones was found a ſtyffe pynne of laten." But I rather ſuppoſe, that this was not in the time of their heatheniſm, but on the early dawn of chriſtianity; for though Itin. vol. 7, page 102.

church-yards for the reception of the dead were not inſtituted till the time of St. Cuthbert, yet they buried in the church and church walls before that time, as will be proved more fully hereafter.

It was alſo cuſtomary to bury ornaments, &c. with the dead bodies after the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity.

Addition to Camden, Col. 743.

On September the 12th, 1664, upon opening of a grave (at the church of St. John of Beverly, in the eaſt riding of Yorkſhire) they found a vault of ſquare freeſtone 15 feet long, and two broad at the head, but at the feet but one and a half; within it was a ſheet of lead four feet long, and in that the duſt, ſix beads (whereof three crumbled to duſt with a touch; of the three remaining two were ſuppoſed to be cornelians) with three great braſs pins, and four great nails of iron; (by which it was ſuppoſed, that the body originally was buried in a wooden coffin, and thoſe were the nails which faſtened on the cover;) upon the ſheet of lead lay a plate alſo of lead, with this inſcription upon it:

+ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI MCLXXXVIII COMBUSTA FUIT HÆC ECCLESIA IN MENSE SEPTEMBRI IN SEQUENTE NOCTE POST FESTUM SANCTI MATHÆI APOSTOLI. ET IN AN: MCXCVII. VI. IDVS MARTII FACTA FUIT INQUISITIO RELIQUIARIUM BEATI JOHANNIS IN HOC LOCO, ET INVENTA SUNT HÆC OSSA IN ORIENTALI PARTE SEPULCHRI ET HIC RECONDITA ET PVLVIS CEMENTO MIXTUS IBIDEM INVENTUS EST ET RECONDITUS.

Croſs over this there lay a box of lead about ſeven inches long, ſix broad, and five high, wherein were ſeveral pieces of bones mixed with a little duſt, yielding a ſweet ſmell: all theſe were carefully interred again in the middle iſle, where they were taken up.

Chriſtian Burials of the Anglo-Saxons.

Having firſt waſhed the dead corpſe, it was cloathed in a ſtraight linen garment, (or put into a bag or ſack of linen*) and then wrapped cloſely round from head to foot with a ſtrong cloth wrapper; but it was cuſtomary with them to leave the head and ſhoulders of the corpſe uncovered till the time of burial, that ſuch relations and acquaintance who were deſirous ſo to do, might take a laſt view of their deceaſed friend, which is repreſented in plate 14, fig. 2, where the friends are mourning over the dead body, (the head and ſhoulders of which being there uncovered.) To this day we yet retain (in our way) this old cuſtom, leaving the coffin of the deceaſed unſcrewed (unleſs the body be offenſive) till the time of burial.

Then before the body was put into the ſepulcher, the head and ſhoulders were alſo cloſely covered over with the wrapper, (ſee plate 14, fig. 1 & 4.) The delineation (ibid. fig. 3) differs much from the reſt; this repreſents in the MS. the burial of Joſeph, who, according to the ſcriptures, was embalmed, and put into a coffin in Egypt; and this is intended to repreſent the coffin ornamented with elegant carved work: for the coffins of the Egyptians, painted over with hieroglyphics, were not known to the Saxons, who were obliged to have recourſe to the manners and cuſtoms that they daily ſaw before them, that is, their own.

Gen. chap. 50, ver. 26.

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* Bedæ corpus primus tranſlatum a Girwi & colocatum in ſacco lineo cum reliquiis S. Guthberti. Ex. Collec; Lelandi, vol. 2, page 378.

When the body was brought to the tomb, it was held by two perſons, one at the head, and the other at the feet, (but whether they were the relations or ſervants of the deceaſed is not known) while the prieſt perfumed it with incenſe; then thoſe two who held the corpſe knelt down, and laid it into the grave, which while they were performing the attendant prieſt prayed and bleſſed it.

The manner of preparing the body, and the funeral proceſſion of the famous Wilfred, archbiſhop of York, who died at Oundle in Northamptonſhire, A. D. 708, and was buried at Rippon, are thus deſcribed by his hiſtorian Eddius: "Upon a certain day many abbots and clergy met thoſe who conducted the corpſe of the holy biſhop in a large hearſe, and earneſtly begged that they might be allowed to waſh the ſacred body, and dreſs it honourably, according to its dignity, and they obtained permiſſion; then one of the abbots, named Bacula, ſpreading his ſurplice on the ground, the brethren depoſited the holy body upon it, waſhed it with their own hands, dreſſed it in the pontifical habits, and then taking it up, carried it towards the appointed place, ſinging pſalms and hymns in the fear of God, Having advanced a little, they again depoſited the corpſe, pitched a tent over it, bathed the ſacred body in pure water, dreſſed it in robes of fine linen, placed it in the hearſe, and proceeded, ſinging pſalms, towards the monaſtery of Rippon. When they approached the monaſtery, the whole family of it came out to meet them, bearing holy relicks. Of all theſe there was hardly one who refrained from tears, and all raiſing their voices, and joining in hymns and ſongs, they conducted the body into the church, which the holy biſhop had built, and dedicated to St. Peter, and there depoſited it in the moſt ſolemn and honourable manner."

Eddius in Vita Wilfredi. Ed. Gale, page 89.

Dr. Henry's Tranſlation. See his Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. page 566.

On the very firſt eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity in this kingdom, it appears that they buried chiefly without coffins, as has been deſcribed by Dr. Woodward, and more particularly by biſhop Gibſon, in his deſcription of *Wroxceſter*. The firſt coffins were either of wood or large cheſts of ſtone. Girald. Cambrenſis informs us, that Henry the Second, cauſed the tomb of Arthur (the famous Britiſh king, which was between two pillars at Glaſtenbury) to be opened, and therein his bones were found encloſed in a large tree made hollow; † but before they had dug down to this coffin by nine feet, they found a large flat ſtone, on which was nailed a croſs of lead, with this inſcription, in old rude characters,

See the preceding page

Girald. Cambrenſis, who was an eye witneſs of the truth

HIC JACET SEPVLTVS INCLITVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA.

And by his ſide lay Guinever, his beautiful (and as ſome ſay incontinent) queen, the golden traces of whoſe hair were yet undecayed. ‡

But to return to the Saxons, who alſo in the earlier days buried much in coffins of wood; for *Ceadda*, according to Bede, was buried in a wooden coffin. And

Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 3.

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† Some authors have imagined that this coffin was of oak, others that it was of alder, as being more laſting.

‡ Several authors deny that it was this queen, who, ſay ſay, was buried at Ambreſbury, (near Stone-Henge) at which monaſtery ſhe took the habit of a nun. And Inigo Jones tells us of a monument diſcovered at Ambreſbury, ſuppoſed to have belonged to her: "It was (ſays he) hewn out of a firm ſtone, and placed in the middle of the wall, having theſe rude letters of maſſy gold on its cover, R. G. A. C. 600. which (continues he) might imply, *Regina Gunivera An: Chriſti* 600. The bones within this ſepulcher were all firm, with fair yellow hair about the ſkull; there were likewiſe found ſeveral royal habiliments, as jewels, veils, and ſcarfs, &c. the like even till then retaining their proper colours."——Stone-Henge Reſtored, page 25.

Tumba lignea
ꞇꞃeoƿene ðꞃuh
Bede lib. 4. cap. 29.
ðꞃuh oꝼ hƿıꞇum ꞅꞇane

And the ſame author informs us, that Sexburga cauſed the body of her ſiſter Etheldreda, (the virgin wife of Egfrid king of the Eaſt Angles) to be removed from an obſcure place, where it lay in a coffin of wood, in order to place it in a fair tomb of white marble procured for that purpoſe.

Nevertheleſs ſtone coffins were alſo of very antient date, and were uſed by them ſoon after their converſion to the chriſtian faith. St. Auguſtine, according to Bede, was buried in the north portico of the church, built in honor of St. Peter and St. Paul, not then finiſhed, or dedicated: (and had an epitaph ſet on his tomb) there were alſo entombed, Ethelbert and Bertha his queen: this was about the year of our Lord 617, but there was no being certain whether their tombs were of wood or ſtone. The ſame author alſo informs us, that Sebba (king of the Eaſt Saxons) was buried at St. Paul's in a coffin of grey marble, and a cover of the ſame*. From this time (about the middle of the ſeventh century) ſtone coffins or cheſts, ſeem to be had in frequent uſe, particularly among the richer ſort of people.

Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 11.

Speed Chron.

The coffin of Ethelred (ſurnamed the unready) who was buried at St. Paul's London, was ſeen by Speed before the deſtruction of that Church, who thus deſcribes it. "His (Ethelred's) bones yet remain in the north wall of the chancel, in a cheſt of grey marble rear'd on four ſmall pillars, and covered with a copped ſtone of the ſame."

These cheſts or coffins, in which were depoſited the remains of kings and noblemen, were not in general buried, but ſet into the walls of churches, or at leaſt in ſuch manner without, as the greater part of them might be ſeen. They often ornamented the covers with an image of the deceaſed, adding ſometimes to this an epitaph in honour of him. Leland informs us, that in his time, there was to be ſeen in the old church at Dorcheſter, "the image of free ſtone that laye on the tumbe of biſhop Æſchwine, as appearith by the inſcription." This was in the year 1542. The ingenious Hearne, laments the loſs of this monument of antiquity, in a letter of his containing ſeveral curious reſearches.

Dorcheſter in Oxfordſhire
Leland Itin. v. 2.
See Hearne's Letter of Ant. found between Windſor & Oxford. Leland's Itin. vol. 5. p. 126
Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 16.

The inſcribing of the tombs of great men, is of very antient date among our anceſtors. The antienteſt Saxon monument upon record, reared in this kingdom, is that of *Horſa* brother to *Hengiſt*. Bede in whoſe time it was remaining makes this mention of it; "In the eaſt part of Kent is his (*Horſa's*) monument, having his name engraved thereon; but as to its form, or materials wherewith it is compoſed, we are left entirely in the dark, unleſs the law of Woden will help us out, which commands them "to erect over the bodies of their kings and chiefs, ſtones inſcribed with the Runic character." And this very likely was nothing more than a large barrow, with a great rude ſtone ſet thereon, inſcribed with his name, and perhaps ſome of his chief actions: this cuſtom ariſing from the above law, was the firſt origin of epitaphs among our anceſtors the Saxons, which then was only intended for to be ſet on the tombs of ſuch perſons, as had by their glorious actions deſerved to have their names recorded. And this cuſtom alſo continuing even on the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity,

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* Bede tells us that the maſons who had meaſured the body of the king, had miſtaken their meaſure, ſo that when the body was brought to the church, the tomb was found to be full a hands breadth too ſhort, and from the conſtruction of it (hewn out of a ſolid ſtone) it could not be lengthened; when they concluded on bending the knees of the corps, as the only method to be taken in this extremity; when lo a miracle enſued, for the coffin of itſelf grew out to a ſufficient length, and ſaved them any farther trouble: but ſays the faithful and induſtrious Speed; (who ſaw the coffin in St. Paul's) "however this tomb was then ſtretched on Monkiſh tenters, it is now ſhrunk again in ſtanding, it not exceeding 5 feet."

tianity, is at length handed down and become very common amongſt us. Before them the Britons alſo, on their converſion to the chriſtian faith borrowed this cuſtom from the Romans, and moſt likely not before, becauſe the Druids held it unlawful to commit ſuch matters to writing. The tomb of Arthur was between two pillars, but the inſcription was buried with the great ſtone whereon it was faſtened, and a remarkable circumſtance attended it, which was, that the ſide of the croſs on which the letters were made, was turned inwards toward the ſtone, ſo that the inſcription could not be ſeen 'till the croſs was taken from the ſtone*. Wm. of Malmſbury Ant. Gloſt.

They had alſo other ornaments which were laid upon the tombs of great men. Bede informs us, that over the tomb of Oſwald (the great chriſtian hero) there was laid his ſtandard, which was compoſed of purple and of gold†. Cnute the Dane alſo gave a rich pall, embroidered with the likeneſs of golden apples, elegantly ſet with pearls, to be laid over the tomb of Edmund Ironſides. ScalaChron.

Their royal monuments were very grand and magnificent. Ælfred was buried under a tomb of precious porphry. So alſo no coſt was ſpared in adorning the ſhrines of their ſaints and holy men. The body of St. Wendreda, a virgin, was brought by Eſinus (abbot of Ely) to Ely, where it was laid in a rich ſhrine moſt ſuperbly ornamented with gold and precious ſtones. Aſſerius An. Ex Vita Brignothi

Before the time of chriſtianity, it was held unlawful to bury the dead within the cities, but they uſed to carry them out into the fields hard by, and there depoſited them. Towards the end of the ſixth century, Auguſtine (among various things) obtained of king Ethelbert, a temple of idols (where the king uſed to worſhip before his converſion) and made a burying place of it, but St. Cuthbert afterwards obtained leave to have yards made to the churches, proper for the reception of the dead.

The biſhop of London (in his additions to Camden) tells us, that of old it was uſual to adorn the graves of the deceaſed with roſes and other flowers, (but more eſpecially thoſe of lovers, round whoſe tombs they often planted roſe trees) it was alſo cuſtomary with the Greeks and Romans, to ornament the urns of their dead relations with wreaths of flowers. (Stern Lycurgus confined the Spartans to olive and myrtle.) Some traces of this ancient cuſtom (continues he) are yet remaining in the church yard of Oakley, in Surry, which is full of roſe trees, planted round the graves. Additions to Surry. Col. 162.

Now to finiſh this long diſcourſe concerning the antient method of interment, I will only add the following extract. Ex Hiſt. Sym. Mon. Præcent Dunhelm.

" In the year of our Lord 740, on the 13th of November, died archbiſhop Acca, and was buried at the eaſt part of the church of Hanguſtold. Two croſſes elegantly decorated with ornaments of ſculpture, were ſet up, one at the head and the other at his feet; on one of which (namely, that at the head) was letters declaring who was buried there. When the body of this archbiſhop was removed, there was found on his breaſt a ſmall tablet, in the form of an altar, made of two pieces of wood join'd together, with ſilver claſps, or nails, and in it was contained this writing. " ALMÆ TRINITATE AGIÆ SOPHIÆ SANCTÆ MARIÆ." On digging further they found a wooden box, which being opened there was diſcovered therein, two ſeals of lead, on which were letters, ſignifying them to be the relicks of the bleſſed Acca." See Leland's Collec. vol. 3 page 349.

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[*] See a full account of it, with à view of the croſs, in the miſcellaneous plates of Hearne's Antiquities, publiſhed by John Thane.

[†] Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 3. c. 11. hiꞅ ꞅeᵹen ꞅe ƿæꞅ miꝺ ᵹolꝺ ⁊ miꝺ ᵹoꝺe ƿæbbe ᵹeꝼæꞇaƿoꝺ

Of the Arts and Learning of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

On the firſt arrival of the Saxons into Britain, they were (as has been before mentioned) heathens; worſhiping many idols, to whom they built and dedicated many large and noble temples, but in the beginning of the ſixth century, they were converted to the chriſtian faith. But even in this early dawn of the true faith amongſt them, there were many great and diſagreeable diſputes between them and the old chriſtian Britons, about keeping Eaſter, together with other church matters of like conſequence. The Anglo-Saxons, yet even on their converſion, retained much of the ſuperſtition of their anceſtors, placing great faith in aſtrological predictions, &c. They underſtood aſtronomy, and have left ſeveral books written on the courſe of the planets, &c. together with delineations of the ſolar ſyſtem, and the fabulous repreſentations of the ſigns of the Zodiac, and all thoſe figures now painted on the celeſtial globe; the particular ſtars alſo in ſome of the Saxon callendars, are done exactly enough. This ſcience they evidently borrowed from the Romans on their converſion to chriſtianity, from whence alſo flowed moſt of the arts which were afterwards diſtinguiſhed amongſt them. They yet continued to reckon their years by winters, after the antient cuſtom as Ða Joꞅep ƿæꞅ ſẏxꞇẏne ƿınꞇꞃe he heolꝺ, *when Joſeph was ſixteen winters old*, and their 24 hours by nights inſtead of days as ꝥ he beo cxx nıᵹhꞇa on caꞃcaꞃne *that he ſhould be* cxx *nights in priſon.*

M S. apud bib. Cot. Inſig. Claud B. 4.
Laws of Athelſtan

They alſo underſtood botany, as may be ſeen by a curious M S. written on that ſubject, with very good drawings (conſidering the time) of the herbs, plants, &c. Learning of all kinds was chiefly confined among the clergy and religious people; tho' Ælfred was indeed a man of great learning, and an excellent poet as well as a good muſician. And the reaſon why learning was not more general among the Engliſh, was not altogether from their own inattention to literature, but from the amazing ſcarcity of books; for Aldfred king of Northumberland, was obliged to give an eſtate of eight hides of land, to Benedict Biſcop (abbot of Weremouth) for the purchaſe of one book (a volume on Coſmography) which bargain was concluded by Benedict with the king, a little before his death, A. D. 690, and the book was delivered to the king, and the eſtate received by Ceolfred ſucceſſor to Benedict. While books were at this exorbitant price, none but kings, abbots, &c. could poſſibly become purchaſers of them, let the genius of the people have been ever ſo much inclined to ſtudy and learning: it is alſo ſaid that the materials neceſſary for writing withal were very dear, which was the chief reaſon why the people in general did not learn to write themſelves. They had among their prieſts ſeveral very faithful hiſtorians, whoſe works (ſince the invention of that divine art, printing) have been moſtly given to the world. Among them the venerable Bede, (as he was called by his countrymen) is much reſpected, and that with great Juſtice: Eddius (by Bede called Stephanus,) Nennius, Aſſerius, and Ethelward, all authors of good account, who with many others have laboured to illuſtrate and ſet forth the hiſtory of this their native kingdom and countrymen: And Cædmon, whom Bede informs us was a very learned man, whoſe pious and godly zeal led him to tranſlate the whole book of Geneſis into the Saxon tongue, together with the coming out of the Iſraelites from the land of Egypt, and their

M S. apud Bib. Cot.
Ven. Bede
Ecc. Hiſt.

entrance into the Land of Promiſe: he alſo wrote concerning the origin of mankind, and of the laſt Judgment, &c.

The Anglo-Saxons were by no means ſo rude and barbarous as they are generally reported to have been, for poetry and poets were never ſo much honoured and admired as in this preſent period; ſince many of the greateſt princes were as ambitious of the laurel as of the royal crown. Elfred we have already mentioned, who was the prince of poets. And Aldhelm who was a prince of the royal family of Weſſex, and biſhop of Sherburn, was alſo the beſt poet of this age. Indeed the chief amuſement of the Saxon kings ſeem to have been the hearing the poems of their bards, to read their works, and even learn their verſes by heart themſelves. And however the other polite arts may have ſince been encouraged, and come to greater perfection; yet every one who will beſtow the trouble of examining ſuch of their works as are yet remaining, will find a great deal of good matter in them, when diveſted of the ſuperſtition and fable, which clouded thoſe earlier ages.

Vita Ælfredi.

Anglia Sacra, v.2. p.4.

Their ſculptures and images are almoſt all loſt and deſtroyed: ſo that there is no true judgement to be made of them, unleſs it could be proved that they were of one pace with the drawings and delineations in their MSS. which I muſt own, are exceedingly imperfect: yet, I dare ſay, that in their elegant buildings and ſtately monuments, there was ſhewn more genius, and greater care beſtowed. For we find the MS. delineations of the 11, 12, and 13 century, very little ſuperior to our Saxon ones in point of finiſhing: yet ſeveral of the monuments and parts of buildings of that age are well worthy of notice; both for their exactneſs and delicacy of the carving, and indeed it is very likely to have been the ſame with the Anglo-Saxons; for the figure of the Abbot of of Weſtminſter *Vitalis* (who died Anno Dom. 1082) that lies over his grave in the cloiſters of that abbey, though much obliterated by the bad uſage it has met with, is not however of a juſt proportion, and has all the appearance of having been extremely well executed: on his head is a mitre, and in his left hand he holds a croſier.

Plate 18. repreſents the picture of Chriſt, with a monk kneeling down before him, that from the authority of the top writing (which is in a hand ſomewhat more modern) was drawn by the very hand of the great Dunſtan, and the monk is deſigned to repreſent himſelf. This ſhows that however the ſaint might have been infallible in other matters, yet in point of drawing he was moſt wretchedly deficient.

I think that all the whole annals of this kingdom, cannot produce a greater or more worthy monarch than Ælfred, a ſhort account of whoſe life and character may not be at all improper here.

He was for his valour and virtues, ſurnamed *the Great*, he was *learned, brave,* and *good.* 'Tis ſaid by his hiſtorian, that in his earlier days he was inſtructed in the art of hunting and other noble exerciſes; yet ſo much was learning neglected that at twelve years of age he had not the knowledge of a ſingle letter of the alphabet, when a book by accident was put into his hands; the queen (his mother) one day being in company with her four ſons (of whom Ælfred was the youngeſt) and holding a book of Saxon poetry in her hand handſomely painted, and ornamented with drawings; ſhe obſerved the young princes were much

Aſſerius in vita Ælfredi.

much charmed with it, upon which ſhe ſaid, whoever firſt learns to read this book, ſhall have it for his pains. Our hero warmed with ſuch hopes, applied ſo diligently, that in a very little time he was able to read and repeat it to the queen, who gave it to him as ſhe had promiſed.

Notwithſtanding the continual diſtractions of his kingdom, and the conſtant war in which, in his younger days, he was engaged, yet he carefully applied himſelf to learning, and holy ſtudies, tranſlating with his own hand many uſeful works into the Saxon tongue, which he cauſed to be read by his biſhops, and prieſts for his peoples inſtructions; and his reaſon for taking upon himſelf this trouble, was the lamentable ignorance of his clergy:

Epiſt. Ælfredi ad Wulfſig Epiſc.Lond.

Foꞃpam he heꞇ him ꞅpilcꞃa ma bꞃenᵹan be þæꞃe býꞅꞅýne ꝥ he hiꞅ biꞅcopum ꞅenꝺan meahꞇe; ꝼoꞃþam hi hiꞅ ꞅume be þoꞃꝼꞇan þa þe leꝺen ꞅpꞃæce leꞅꞇe cuꝺon; *to this end I cauſed* (ſays he) *copies to be made* (of my tranſlation *that they might be ſent to certain of my biſhops, to whom they were very needful, they not underſtanding the Latin ſpeech*. He tranſlated St. Gregory into Saxon from the Latin, and the whole Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the venerable Bede, together with many other great and uſeful works. He is alſo, by Aſſerius, ſaid to have been the greateſt builder and beſt architect of his age.

William Malmſ. de geſt. reg. Ang. lib. 2. in vita Ælfredi.

The day, he divided into three equal parts; eight hours of which he ſpent in reading, writing and in prayer; the other eight hours he ſpent in hearing and ſettling the buſineſs of the realm; and the remaining eight hours were ſpent in ſleep and other requiſite eaſements for the body. Inſtead of a clock (which invention was not then known) he had a candle of a certain length, which was equally divided into twenty-four parts, and the chaplain who had the charge of it, gave the king notice how the time paſſed. His revenue he alſo divided into two parts: of the firſt part he made three equal ſhares; one was for his ſervants, one for the workmen employed by him in building, and one for making neceſſary proviſion for ſtrangers. Of the ſecond part, he made four ſhares: the firſt he beſtowed in public charities; the ſecond ſerved as a revenue for the monaſteries founded by him; the third was for the ſupport of public ſchools, and encouragement of learning; and the laſt for the uſe of churches beyond ſea. And thus was the bulk of the annual revenue of this great man ſpent for the good encouragement of learning and religion, as well as the public benefit of his kingdom.

Aſſerii Annal.

As in his proſperity he bore a ſoul unmoved with the flatteries attendant on power and greatneſs; ſo in adverſity, he ſubmitted to the rod of God, with moſt chriſtian patience. To ſuch diſtreſs (ſays Aſſerius) was this good king driven, as to ſeek refuge under the homely roof of a poor herdſman, whoſe miſerable cottage, would ſcarcely protect him from the inclemency of the weather; while, to the owner of this wretched manſion, he was obliged for the common neceſſaries of life. During the king's ſtay, on a time as he was ſitting by the fire preparing his bow, and other inſtruments of war, the miſtreſs of the cot had in the mean time placed ſome cakes of bread upon the hearth to bake, which unoticed by the king, began to burn; this being perceived by the woman, ſhe in great rage ſaid to him. "Fellow, wherefore do you ſuffer the cakes to burn. —you are glad enough to eat them though they were but half baked." The king, ſays John Wallingford, with great patience ſubmitting himſelf unto the will of God, calmly replied, "Good hoſteſs, it is not through

Johan. Wallingford Chron.

through my negligence that I ſuffered the bread to burn, but from my not underſtanding the nature of it;" ſo ſaying, he reached out his hand, and turned the cakes from the fire. Little thought (ſays Aſſerius) this unmannered woman, that her gueſt was the royal Ælfred, who had fought ſo many battles, and gained ſuch ſignal victories over the Danes: which he did not only by land, but by ſea, the ſucceſs of which laſt was rather various: but it is ſaid that he found the Saxon *Keeles* or ſhips, which were very clumſily formed, being ſhort, broad, and low, but ill adapted for execution in time of war; ſo to oppoſe the Daniſh pirates of Northumberland, he built other ſhips on a new conſtruction, twice the length of the former, and much more lofty, which made them much ſwifter ſailors, and more ſteady in the water: ſome of them had ſixty oars, and ſome more: (theſe were only galleys, and moſt likely not equal in ſtrength or ſize to the ſhip, ſhewn in the courſe of the plates, where there is no marks or holes for oars, that being a ſailing ſhip only, and too big to be managed with them.)

Aſſerius.
Chron. Sax.
Pl. 9. fig. 1.

In Ælfred's time one Ochter a Norwegian, went on a voyage of diſcoveries in the northern ſeas: and Wulfſtan, an Anglo-Saxon, went out to explore the coaſt of the Baltic. An Anglo-Saxon prieſt alſo named Sighelm, undertook and performed a voyage *beyond ſea*, to the Chriſtians of St. Thomas, on the Coromandel coaſt in hither India.

Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce.
Malmſ. de Pont. lib. 2

A great article in commerce (among the Saxons) was ſlaves: which cuſtom of ſelling men and women was yet kept up in the Confeſſor's time; for *Gith*, wife to Goodwin, earl of Kent, greatly enriched herſelf by this ſort of traffic. The people of Briſtol we are told, were much addicted to this commerce, till they were ſtopped from ſo barbarous a cuſtom, by the advice and intreaties of Wulfſtan biſhop of Worceſter, at the Norman conqueſt.

Hollinſhgead

Exportation of horſes was much practiſed, as may be judged from the following law of Athelſtan, being found neceſſary.

Nân man ne ꞅylle nan hoꞃꞅ oꝼeꞃ ꞅæ, butan he hiꞇ ᵹyꝼan ƿille;
No man ſhall (ſend) *any horſes over ſea, but ſuch as ſhall be preſents.*

Leges Æthelſt.

It is true that as the arts, and uſeful improvements flouriſhed among the Saxons, ſo they gave great way to looſeneſs and luxury. They were very fond of hot baths; and indeed in the Anglo-Saxon laws the bathing in warm water was conſidered as one of the neceſſary requiſites of life, while on the other hand, they hated the bathing in cold water; which, together with reſtraining from the hot bath, were often enjoined as penance for the faults they had committed: thoſe who would any ways wiſh to be reſpected by the ladies were careful to bathe, at leaſt, every Saturday. Long hair was much admired by the ladies: the Danes, who in Edgar's time were quartered upon the Engliſh (being great beaux) were particularly attentive to the combing and dreſſing of their hair, by which means they captivated the hearts of the Engliſh ladies: this luxury (as it was then eſteemed) of long hair, was much inveighed and preached againſt by biſhop Wulfſtan.

Johnſon's Canons.
Witichindus
John Wallingford. Ed. Gale p. 547.

The domeſtic employment of the ladies has already been mentioned. Weaving and needle-work were much practiſed by them: we are told, that a religious lady deſirous to embroider a ſacerdotal robe, got St. Dunſtan (then a young man) to draw the figure of it for her, which ſhe formed with threads of gold; and this is not the only inſtance of this kind, for the Saxon women were

Malmſ. in Vita Wulfſtani.
Anglia Sacra v. 2. p. 94

much famed for knowledge of embroidery; and even the ladies of the higheſt rank employed thus their time. Theſe ornaments were chiefly deſigned for churches or veſtments for the clergy when they performed their ſacred duties. The four daughters of King Edward the elder, were highly praiſed and diſtinguiſhed, on account of their great aſſiduity and ſkill in ſpinning, weaving and needle-work. And Edelfeda, widow of Brithned duke of Northumberland, (in the tenth century) preſented to the church of Ely a curtain, on which was pictured the hiſtory of the great actions of her deceaſed lord, in order to preſerve the memory of his great valour and other virtues. So in a charter to the Abbey of Croyland, made by Witlaf King of Mercia, he gives his purple mantle which he wore on the day of his coronation, to be made into a cope for the uſe of the prieſt who miniſtered at the holy altar; and his golden vail embroidered with the ſiege of Troy, to be hung up in the church on his birth-day. In the *Monarchie Francoiſe* of the Great Montfaucon, are engravings taken from a piece of tapeſtry ſaid to be the work of Matilda, wife to the conqueror, and the ladies of her court; in which is repreſented, the embroidered hiſtory of the conqueſt of England by the Normans; beginning with Harald's embaſſy to the Norman court, A. D. 1065, and ending with his death Anno 1066: this antiquity is yet preſerved in the cathedral of Bayeux, but I muſt own, that to me the work and habits (as far as one can judge by the repreſentation) ſeem to be of a much more modern date. The method of weaving then in uſe is ſomewhat explained by a ſimility made uſe of by Adhelmn, biſhop of Sherburn, in his book *de Virginitate*: "'Tis not the ſingle web of one ſimple colour that is pleaſing to the eye, but it is one that is with threads of purple, and various other colours, woven in with the ſhuttle thrown from one ſide to the other, thereby forming a variety of different colours and figures, each in its own proper compartment, knit together with exquiſite art." They had alſo the art of making ſilk and woollen cloths; the laſt of which is very clearly proved by the price of wool which in ſome of the Anglo-Saxon laws, was valued at two fifths of the price of the whole ſheep, They alſo underſtood the art of manufacturing furs, &c. together with that of dying linen, &c. of different colours.

W. Malmſ. lib. 2 c. vi.

Hiſt. Elien. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Ingulph. Hiſt. Croil. p. 488.

Montfaucon ſee alſo Dr. Ducarrell's Anglo-Norman Antiq.

M.S. in the Archiopiſc. Library at Lambeth, written about the year 680.

Leg. Sax.

A. D. 687.

The people of Suſſex knew nothing of catching fiſh till they were taught by biſhop Wilfred; except only ſome few eels which they caught in ſmall nets: and in Bede's time the plough had only one handle, (ſee plate 24, fig. 2.) but the uſe of the hatchet I cannot ſo well explain, unleſs it was to break ſuch clods of earth as might ſtop the progreſs of the plough.

Of the Marriages of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Saxons of old were famous for their chaſtity of behaviour, the bond of matrimony being by them always held ſacred and inviolable, ſo that adultery was ſcarcely known amongſt them, but by name; though it muſt be allowed, that the Anglo-Saxons did not entirely keep up the glory and innocence of their anceſtors; for Boniface, biſhop of Maguance, (who was an Engliſhman) by letter reproved Ethelbert, king of the Mercians, for his lewd and adulterous life, telling him, that the ancient Saxons (though they knew not God) would have puniſhed ſuch wretched crimes with the moſt ſevere torments. So deſperately wicked

Holling-ſhead Chron v. 1. p. 190.

wicked was Ethelburga, daughter to Offa, who, beſides her adulterous acts, by chance poiſoned her huſband, Brithtake, (king of the Weſt Saxons) who drank of a potion by her mixed up for her gallant; the people on this wicked woman's account, cauſed a law to be enacted, excluding the wives of kings from all their ancient privileges, (ſuch as ſitting in council, &c.) depriving them of their antient name of Cƿen, or *Queen*, and prohibiting them from ſitting beſide the king in any public places. This law continued in full force until the time of Ethelwolf, who much offended the people by placing his queen by him on his chair of ſtate. But notwithſtanding the above recited inſtances, we muſt by no means conclude that theſe immodeſties were in general prevailing among our Anglo-Saxon ladies: No; they were for the moſt part very delicate and modeſt, not only in their dreſs, but in their behaviour and manners. Nay, to ſuch extremes did ſome of the ladies carry their principles of honour and virtue, as even after marriage to refuſe accompanying with their huſbands, living ſtill in a perpetual virginity: an inſtance of which was Etheldreda, the maiden wife of Egfrid, king of the Northumbers; ſhe was twice married, yet lived and died an unſpotted virgin, whoſe miſtaken zeal led others to follow her example. But the ſingular inſtance of modeſty and virtue ſhewn by the chaſte Ebba, abbeſs of Coddingham, and the virtuous Nuns, ought, to the eternal honour of the Saxon ladies, to ſtand upon record. The abbey being hard beſet by the inhuman Danes, the abbeſs took a knife and ſlit her noſe, and cut off her lips, by her perſuaſion cauſing all the beautiful young damſels to do the ſame, and ſo diſguiſing themſelves in the moſt frightful manner, waited the coming of the laſcivious conquerors, who in revenge of their diſappointed luſts, ſet fire to the abbey, and every ſoul therein periſhed in the flames.

Ran. Ceſt. lib. 5, cap. 25.

Wm. of Malmſbury de Geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Bede Ecc. Hiſt.

Flores Hiſtoriarum, page 313.

In regard to the particular forms of the marriage ceremony, we muſt be contented with the beſt account that can be gathered out of ſuch various authors as have touched thereon, together with the opinions of ſome of our greateſt and moſt learned antiquaries.

Moſt undoubted it is, that among the Saxons the fair ſex were always treated in the moſt gallant manner, and the greateſt regard and attention was paid to them: yet a woman was always conſidered as under a guardianſhip to ſome man all her life time; this guardianſhip was called Mund, and the perſon who claimed it Mundboꞃa, without whoſe advice and conſent ſhe could not do any legal act; neither was this guardian, but by his own conſent, to be by any means deprived of ſuch his right. The father was the natural Mundboꞃa to his unmarried daughters; when he died the brothers claimed it, or if there were no brothers, the next male relation. The male heir of the huſband was the guardian of the widow; and the king the legal protector of ſuch as had no other. When a young man was deſirous of paying his addreſſes to a lady, he firſt procured the conſent of the Mundboꞃa, by making a preſent, more or leſs, according to the rank of the lady: this was called the Mede, or price, which gave riſe to the ſaying, "that men at this period bought their wives;" and explains a law made by Ethelbert, king of Kent, which runs thus, "If a freeman lie with the wife of another freeman, let him buy another wife for the injured party;" that is, pay the Mede for another wife. If a man raſhly married a woman without the conſent of the Mundboꞃa, he was guilty of the crime called Mundbꞃeach, and obnoxious to many ſevere penalties; beſides this, he obtained no legal authority over

Spelman Gloſſ. 423.

Muratori Antiq. vol. 2. page 113.

Leges Ethelberti.

over his wife or her goods. Yet it was found neceſſary to reſtrain theſe guardians from being too avaricious in their demands, therefore laws were made, which fixed the price to be paid for ladies of all ranks, with the full extent of ſuch demands. If the lady was a widow, but half the Meꝺe was demanded of the ſuitor, as would have been fixed had ſhe been a maiden of the ſame rank. When the gallant had obtained his miſtreſs's conſent, as well as that of the guardian, the parties were ſolemnly contracted, and one of the bridegroom's friends became ſurety for the woman's good treatment and maintenance ſuitable to her rank; and at the making this contract, the dowry which the huſband intended to give the wife was fixed and aſcertained. It was a conſtant cuſtom to invite all relations, within the third degree, to the marriage feaſt, and all who were invited made ſome preſent to the bride or bridegroom. The father, brother, or whatever relation was guardian, made a conſiderable preſent of furniture, arms, cattle, and money, according to their circumſtances, which was called ꝼæꝺeꞃꝼium, *father's gift*, and was all the fortune which the man received. No marriages could be lawful without the preſence of the Munꝺboꞃa, who gave the bride to the bridegroom, ſaying, "I give thee my daughter, (ſiſter or relation) to be thy honour, and thy wife, to keep thy keys, and ſhare with thee in thy bed and goods; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt." And on the morrow, in the morning, when the bridegroom aroſe from his bed, to teſtify his entire ſatisfaction, he was obliged to give a handſome gift, called the Moꞃᵹæn-ᵹiꝼe, or *morning gift*, which was the ancient pin money, and became the ſeparate property of the wife alone.

Spelman. Concil. page 425.

Steirnhook, page 160.

Leges. Sax.

The marriage was celebrated at the houſe of the bridegroom, on whom fell all the trouble and expence; ſome time was allowed him to make ſuch preparations as were neceſſary, which ſeldom exceed more than ſix or ſeven weeks at moſt from the time of contracting. The day before the wedding, thoſe friends of the bridegroom that had been invited came to his houſe, where the day was ſpent in feaſting and merriment: next morning the bridegroom's friends being alarmed, and mounted on horſeback, proceeded in great ſtate and order to the reſidence of the bride, under the conduct of one who was named ꝼoꞃeƿiꞇaman, or *foremoſt man*, to receive and conduct the bride ſafely to the houſe of her intended huſband: this martial array was in honour of the bride, and to protect her from the attempts of any of her former lovers. The bride was led by a matron, who was called the *bride's woman*, followed by a company of young maidens, who were called the *bride's maids* and attended by her Munꝺboꞃa, and other male relations. On her arrival ſhe was received by the bridegroom, where ſhe was ſolemnly betrothed to him by her guardian; after this ceremony was finiſhed, the bridegroom, the bride, and their united companies, proceeded to the church, attended with muſic, and there they received the nuptial benediction from the prieſt: ſometimes this benediction was performed under a veil, or ſquare piece of cloth, held at each corner by a tall man, over the bridegroom and bride, to conceal her virgin bluſhes; but if the bride was a widow, the veil was eſteemed uſeleſs. After the benedictial ceremony was finiſhed, both the bride and bridegroom were crowned with crowns of flowers, kept in the church for that purpoſe; and theſe ceremonies being finiſhed, the whole company returned to the bridegroom's houſe, where they ſat down to the nuptial feaſt, and the remaining part of the day was ſpent by the youth of both ſexes in mirth and dancing,

Dr. Henry's Hiſt. of Brit. page 561.

Muratori, v. 2, p. 111.

Olai. Magni, 523.

dancing, while the graver ſort ſat down to their drinking bout, in which they highly delighted. At night the bride was by the women attendants placed in the marriage bed, and the bridegroom in the ſame manner conducted by the men, where having both, with all who were preſent, drank the marriage health, the company retired. The wedding dreſſes of the bride, and three of her maidens, and of the bridegroom, and three of his attendants, were of a faſhion and colour peculiar to the ceremony, and might not be wore on any other occaſion; and theſe dreſſes antiently belonged to the muſical performers, who attended the wedding, but in latter times they were given to ſome church or monaſtery. Next morning the whole company came into the chamber of the new married couple, before they aroſe, to hear the huſband declare the Moꞃᵹænᵹıꝼe, or *morning's gift*, when his relations became ſureties to the wife's relations for the performance of ſuch promiſes as were made by the huſband.

Steirnhook.

The feaſting continued ſtill for ſeveral days, or till all the proviſion was conſumed, when all who had been gueſts made ſome handſome preſent to the huſband at their departure.

Plate 13, fig. 1. ſeems to repreſent a marriage, where the bride is brought and preſented to the bridegroom; moſt likely by the Munꝺboꞃa or *guardian*, who is joining their hands: on the right hand ſtands a man with a cup, or diſh in his hand, the uſe of which, I cannot otherways explain, than that it is (perhaps) ſome peculiar marriage gift, or contained the holy water that might be ſprinkled over them by way of benediction.

When a child was new born, it was clad in a looſe robe, and ſet in a large veſſel, while the attendant poured in water. See plate 13, fig. 3.

Hiſtorians have neglected to ſay much concerning the baptiſm ceremonies, but moſt likely thoſe forms did not greatly differ from the ſet form, which ſhall be hereafter ſhewn among the Normans: for in religious matters, excepting ſome few trifling variations, the ceremonies were handed down much after the antient cuſtoms. Among the various church laws of Ethelbald, there was one which forbid the prieſts receiving any reward for baptizing of children. They were baptized whilſt they were yet very young, for Pope Gregory in his epiſtle to Auguſtine, recommends to him to baptize them very ſoon; and adds, " even the minute they are born if the children ſhould be ſick or weakly." And one of the laws of Ina king of the Weſt Saxons was that Cılꝺ bınnan þꞃẏꞇꞇıᵹum nıhꞇa ꞅẏ ᵹeꝼulƿaꝺ. ᵹıꝼ hıꞇ ꞅƿa ne ꞅẏ. xxx. ꞅcıllınᵹeꞅ ᵹebeꞇe; Ᵹıꝼ hıꞇ ðonne ꞅẏ ꝺeaꝺ buꞇan ꝼulluhꞇe. ᵹebeꞇe he hıꞇ mıð eallum ðæm ðe he aᵹe; *a child within* 30 *nights* (after its birth) *ſhall be baptized, if it is not,* 30 *ſhillings ſhall be given; but if it die without baptiſm than all that belongs to it ſhall be forfeited.* Above all things it was with the Saxons a conſtant cuſtom for the mother to nurſe and ſuckle her own children, unleſs ſickneſs or ſome ſiniſter accident prevented it, " they holding it (ſays Verſtegan) among them for a general rule, that the child by ſucking a ſtrange nurſe, would rather incline unto the nature of her, than unto the nature of its owne father or mother."

Stow's Chron.
Epiſt. Pope Greg. to Auguſtine in Bede lib. 1. cap. 27.
2d. Law of Ina
Verſtegan's Reſt. of Decayed Ant. page 57.

Thus having given a general account of the manners of our old anceſtors, I will now take my leave of this Æra, with preſenting to the reader an exact repreſentation of a curious piece of enamel'd copper which compoſed the ſhrine of the unfortunate Ethelbert, king of the Eaſt Angles, (to whom the cathedral church of Hereford was dedicated) on it is repreſented the murder of this king, and the interment of his remains, at the requeſt of Humbert archbiſhop of Litchfield. The ſhrine is lined with oak, which is ſuppoſed to be part of the floor whereon the murder was committed, which was on the evening preceding his intended nuptials with Elfrida, daughter of Offa king of the Mercians, who (becauſe he was therein concerned) in order to procure his pardon, was directed by the Pope, to erect a cathedral church over the remains of the innocent king, who was then ſainted, and his relicks put into the preſent ſhrine. The machine held by the two attendants on which the dead body lies, appears to me to be the bier on which the corps was carried upon the ſhoulders of attendants to the place of ſepulture. The writing on the tablet held by the attendant prieſt, is ſo obliterated as to render it impoſſible to be decyphered.

The End of the ANGLO-SAXON Æra.

OF THE
DANES,
Both from and before their Eſtabliſhment in ENGLAND,
UNTIL THE
NORMAN CONQUEST.

THE Saxons now ſettled in the kingdom, ſhook off by degrees their natural ferocity, becoming much more civilized and poliſhed; but as it often happens, that the minds of men run from one extreme to another, ſo our anceſtors, baniſhing the plain and homely habits of their forefathers, adopted in their ſtead a ſumptuous expenſiveneſs in their dreſs, as well as luxury and profuſeneſs in their entertainments. The love of the moſt effeminate amuſements took the place late occupied in their ſouls by manly valour, and deſire of glory. This material change from their antient manhood, forerun their deſtruction, and haſtened on the advancement of the Danes.

The original of the Danes is (by ſome) diſputed, however the general opinion is, that they are a part of the moſt antient northern inhabitants*; their manners, cuſtoms, religion and habit, well agreeing with thoſe of the old Germans. Why they were not better known to Greek and Roman authors, (ſays Verſtegan) is becauſe the coldneſs of thoſe northern countries was ſuch, that they ſcarcely ſuppoſed they could admit of inhabitants.

Sherringham, ch. vii.
Verſtegan page 155.

There are many various diſputes concerning the derivation of the name of the Danes, but as ſuch diſputes are built only on the conjectures of the writers, they become uſeleſs and unneceſſary to my preſent plan. It has been already obſerved, that the Manners and Cuſtoms of this people, antiently, differed but little from thoſe of the Saxons, therefore, there needs but little addition to be made to what has gone before; eſpecially as that part of the Daniſh hiſtory, chiefly neceſſary to be here ſet forth, is only from the time of their firſt commencing chriſtians, becauſe their antient manners and cuſtoms did not much affect the ſettled conſtitution of the kingdom. I ſhall only then give ſuch general matters relative to this people, as may ſerve to throw a clearer light on what may hereafter follow †.

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* Puffendorf, a northern writer, in his account of Denmark, tells us, that it is one of the moſt ancient kingdoms in Europe, which had its kings long before the birth of Chriſt: but (continues he) "there is left us no authentic account, from whence we may preciſely trace the origin, or length of reign of its firſt kings, or from whence we may ſet down the hiſtory of their lives and exploits, &c." Puffendorf's Introduction to the Hiſt. Europe.

Verſtegan writes, that Denmark, Norway and Sweden, are not ſo ancient as Germany, but he is flatly contradicted by Sherringham, who rather ſuppoſes Germany to have been peopled from the more northern ſettlements. Sher. de Ang. Gentis Origine cap. vii.

† See a full and particular account of the origin of this people, in the work entitled, Northern Antiquities, tranſlated from the French of Monſ. Mallet's Introduction a l'Hiſtoire de Dannemarc.

Camden Brit.
Ditmarus
Northern Ant. vol. I. ch. 7. p. 134

In their ſacrifices, the Danes were more cruel than the Saxons. An antient biſhop (complaining of the vices of mankind) writes thus, " Becauſe I have heard wonderful reports of the antient ſacrifices of the Danes and Normans, I will not let it paſs unnoticed. In thoſe parts there is a place and the chief it is of that kingdom, called Lederum, in a province named Selon, where every ninth year in the month of January, after the time in which we celebrate the feſtivity of our lord, they all aſſemble together, and there kill and ſacrifice unto their gods ninety-nine men, as many horſes, with dogs and cocks inſtead of hawks, aſſuring themſelves that thereby the gods are fully pleaſed and pacified." Not only common people fell victims to their ſacrifices, but even thoſe of the firſt rank and quality; eſpecially in time of great danger, when they thought that the only way to bribe the gods to aſſiſt them, was to offer up a noble ſacrifice: thus " the firſt king of Vermland (a province of Sweden) was burnt in honour of *Odin*, (or *Woden*) to put an end to a great dearth." The kings in their turn did not ſpare the blood of their ſubjects, and many of them even ſhed that of their children. Hacon, king of Norway, offered his ſon in ſacrifice, to obtain of *Odin* the victory over his enemy Harald. Aune, king of Sweden, devoted to *Odin* the blood of his nine ſons, to prevail on that god to prolong his life.

Camden's Brit.
Speed Chron.
Northen Ant. vol. I. chap. 9.
Ibid. 206.
Ibid. page 117.

It is alſo ſaid, that when the inhabitants of the kingdom became too numerous, they would muſter a number of young men together by lot, who were driven forth to ſeek their fortune by the ſword; but previous to their departure, one of them was by lot ſingled forth to be ſlain, a ſacrifice (for the ſafety of the reſt) to their antient God *Thur*. The unhappy wretch on whom unfortunately the lot might fall, was ſtruck down with the yoke of an ox; this was done before the altar, where the ſacred fire was kept burning both night and day; the prieſt who performed this office conſecrating the victim with certain words, as, " I devote thee to *Thur*;" or, " I ſend thee to *Thur*." The body then being ſtretched out on the ground, they wounded the great artery of the heart, and drew out the blood, which was carefully catched into a large iron or brazen veſſel, and ſprinkled, with the bleſſing of the prieſt, on the heads of thoſe who were about to depart. "Theſe (ſays Speed) being thus driven out of their own, fell upon other lands, with no leſs danger than a ſword falling from the ſcabbard, or rather, as the breaking in of the tempeſtuous ſea upon the neighbouring grounds, ſore diſtreſſing the ſurrounding nations; and among them England was ſure not to eſcape their rage." But the true cauſe of this emigration does not ſeem to have really been for the want of room at home, but rather from the natural reſtleſſneſs of this people, and the deſire of winning by their ſwords more rich and cultivated poſſeſſions, than thoſe they already inhabited. They were without doubt a warlike people, conſtantly deſpiſing ſuch as had the fear of death before them. "The Danes (ſays Adam of Bremen) are remarkable for this, that if they have committed any crime, they had rather ſuffer death than blows. There is no puniſhment for them but the axe or ſervitude; as for groans, complaints, and other bemoanings of that kind, in which we find relief, they are ſo deteſted by the Danes, that they think it mean to weep for their ſins, or for the death of their deareſt relations." And Saxo Gram. ſpeaking of a ſingle combat, ſays, " one of the champions *fell, laughed, and died*;" an epitaph ſhort and energetic. Such was their conſtant cuſtom to die without manifeſting the leaſt ſorrow, or ſenſe of pain, even to the laſt gaſp of life; it was indeed the vow of every freeman ſo to die with his arms in his hand.

In all the early annals of the Engliſh hiſtory, the Danes are marked out as a cruel barbarous people, extremely laſcivious, raviſhing and abuſing the women wherever they ſpread their conqueſts; they were alſo great gluttons and drinkers, living in debauchery, and committing frequent murders, notwithſtanding the terrible puniſhments threatened to them by the Edda: "There is an abode remote from the ſun, the gates of which face the north; poiſon rains there through a thouſand openings: this place is all compoſed of the carcaſſes of ſerpents; there run certain torrents, in which are plunged the perjurers, aſſaſſins, and thoſe who ſeduce married women. A black winged dragon flies inceſſantly around, and devours the bodies of the wretched who are there impriſoned."

North. Ant. v. 1. p. 117.

They are noted alſo as a people regardleſs of their faithfulleſt promiſes: to confirm a promiſe by oath, they would ſwear "by the ſhoulder of a horſe," and "by the edge of a ſword;" but their moſt ſolemn and ſacred oath was that which was ſworn upon the holy *armilla*, or bracelet, which was after this faſhion: the perſon to be ſworn laid hold of a certain ring, or *bracelet*, uſually kept upon the altar of the gods, but now worn on the arm of the prieſt, or chief magiſtrate, (in the judgment hall:) this bracelet was ſmeared over with the blood of their ſacrifices, and while he that ſwore thus held the ring, he took the oath. Aſſerius and Ethelward both tell us, that Ælfred having gained ſome advantage over the Danes, cauſed them to ſwear (beſides on his own relicks) "In eorum armilla ſacra, quod cæterarum regionum fecere nunquam;" that is, upon their holy bracelet, which they had never done before to the king of any other nation.

Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi, Etherward, Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 3.

We are told by Wormius, that the Danes antiently held certain courts of parliament (in which their kings were ſolemnly elected) within a circle of twelve ſtones, and a thirteenth in the middle, higher than the reſt, on which was placed, as on a regal throne, the new elected king, inaugurated by the general ſuffrage, with loud applauſes and acclamations of the people, claſhing of their ſwords, and ſtriking their ſhields together, &c. The origin of this cuſtom, which proceeded from their religious principles, is explained in the ancient Edda: "He (the univerſal father *Odin*) in the beginning eſtabliſhed governors, and ordered them to decide whatever differences ſhould ariſe amongſt men, and to regulate the government of the celeſtial city. The aſſembly of theſe judges was held in the plain called *Ida*, which is in the middle of the divine abode. Their firſt work was to build a hall, wherein are twelve ſeats for themſelves, beſides the throne, which is occupied by the Univerſal Father, &c." From hence came the ſenate of twelve among the northen nations: "the veſtiges of this antient cuſtom may be diſcovered in the fable of the twelve peers of France, and in the eſtabliſhment of twelve jurymen in England, who are the proper judges according to the antient laws of the country."

Olai Worm. Hiſt. Dan.

North. Ant. v. 2. p. 45.

See page 19 of this Work

When they met to nominate the king, the electors ſtood upright upon the ſtones, fixed in the earth, environing the court, giving their voices, and thereby confirming their choice; by the ſtability of the ſtones on which they ſtood, tacitly declaring the firmneſs of the act; at other times they ſat upon ſtones, or elſe ſtood upright beſide them.

Saxo Gram. Hiſt. Dan. lib. 1.

If a king fell in a foreign expedition, the army preſently got together a parcel of ſtones, and ſet them round in ſuch manner, as well perhaps for a monument for the dead king, as for a place of election for his ſucceſſor; and this they did, firſt, becauſe they eſteem'd the election in ſuch a forum to be a good addition to the title; and ſecondly, becauſe by delay of election, many damages often happened

Dr. Charlton's Confutation of J. Webb's Defence of Inigo Jones. Plot's Oxfordſhire.

pened to the commonwealth. From this cauſe Dr. Charlton and others have been led at once to conclude, that Stonehenge, and other monuments of that kind, (in this kingdom) were thus raiſed by the Danes ſor the inauguration of their kings. If ſo, (as Dr. Plott judiciouſly obſerves) why were not any of their kings crowned at ſome one of theſe places? Cnute and Hardicnute were crowned at London, and Harald at Oxford. It may be objected that they were chriſtians, and that their antient cuſtoms might be then aboliſhed, as the remains of heatheniſm and idolatry; but ſurely were theſe monuments of ſo late a date as to have been conſtructed by the Danes at all, would ſo many faithful authors as were then living, have been ſilent about the erection of ſuch extraordinary buildings?

There does not ſeem to have been any material change in the manners and cuſtoms of the Saxons ariſing from the Daniſh Conqueſt; for in the firſt place, the time (only 27 years) that the latter were in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, was too ſhort (however their manners might differ, and they be willing to introduce them) to effect it; and in the next place, when they were become maſters of the kingdom, they were ſo cruel and peremptory in the exerciſing of their power, that they were utterly hated and deteſted by the Engliſh, who, as they began to ſhake off the yoke, (by way of retaliation for their former ſufferings) not only chaſed them from the realm, but killed and deſtroyed them in great numbers; calling them, by way of deriſion, *Lord Danes*, and treating them with great cruelty and indignity. So overjoyed were the Engliſh at the expulſion of theſe troubleſome gueſts, that they introduced a feſtival, called hucxꞇıꝺe, or hocꞇıꝺe, *a term of ſcorn and deriſion*, ſomething reſembling the old Roman paſtime, called *fugalia*, in commemoration of their chaſing forth their kings. Speed Chron. 392.

Obſervations on the Government of the Danes.

The government of England does not ſeem to have been much altered by the Danes, ſaving that a country got by conqueſt, muſt be held by power, which maxim made them more arbitray and ſtrict in their proceedings. Yet ſeveral good and wholeſome laws were enacted in the reign of Cnute (ſurnamed the Great) who (after many daring and fruitleſs attempts both by his predeceſſors, as well as by himſelf) at length effected the conqueſt of the greateſt part of the kingdom, at firſt only ſharing it with Edmund Ironſides, who was then king; but this Edmund being ſoon after treacherouſly ſlain, Cnute was left in ſole poſſeſſion of the realm; which he divided into four parts, appointing Northumberland to the governance of Irke, or Iricius; Mercia to the treacherous Edrick; and the Eaſt Angles to Turkhyl, who had greatly ſerved him; the Weſtern parts he reſerved for himſelf.

It is ſaid of this king, that one day, when his flatterers not only praiſed him above Alexander, Cyrus, or Cæſar, but alſo added that he was more than human: being near the ſea ſide, he called for a chair, which he ordered to be ſat cloſe to the water's edge, and placed himſelf therein, ſpeaking thus to the riſing tide: "Thou ſea art part of my dominions, the ground I ſit on is my own, and none dare diſobey what I command, therefore I charge thee ſtop thy ſwelling waters, nor dare to overflow the ground, leſt you wet the garment of your maſter." But when it ſtill increaſed, and reached his feet and the borders of his robe, he ſtarted from his ſeat, and with a look full of diſdain, ſpake thus to his ſervile courtiers: "How weak is human power! how trifling the extent of kingly greatneſs! none ſhould be called a king but him alone whoſe will almighty governs heavern, earth, and ſeas!" Then going from thence, he proceeded to the church of Wincheſter, where taking his crown from his head, he placed it on the image of our crucified Saviour; from whence (it is generally ſuppoſed) came the old cuſtom of hanging the armour or robes of great men in churches, over their tombs, or near the altars.

This king Cnute was alſo a poet; for it is reported of him, that when he was in a boat upon the water, paſſing near the church at Ely, he heard the monks there ſinging and performing their maſs, upon which, ſuddenly inſpired with poetic fire, he chaunted out a ſong, which he compoſed as he ſung, the firſt ſtanza of which is yet left upon record in the hiſtory of Ely church; it runs thus,

Hiſt. Elienſis, lib. 2. cap. 27.

> Meꞃie ꞅunᵹen ðe Muneceꞅ binnen Elẏ,
> ða Cnuꞇ chinᵹ ꞃeu ðeꞃ bẏ,
> ꞃoƿeð cniꞇeꞅ noeꞃ ꞇhe lanꝺ
> Anꝺ heꞃe ƿe þeꞅ Muncheꞅ ꞅænᵹ.
>
> *Chearful ſang the monks of Ely,*
> *When Cnute the king was paſſing by,*
> *Row to the ſhore, knights, ſaid the king,*
> *And let us hear theſe churchmen ſing.*

Which verſe, with the reſt of the ſong, was afterwards ſang in the churches in commemoration of this extraordinary fact. A portrait of this king is exhibited in plate 28, with his queen Alfgyfe, who was his firſt wife.

See the Deſcrip. of the plates.

Obſervations on the Arms, &c. of the Danes.

The antient defenſive armour of the Danes was nothing more than a helmet, (moſtly of leather) a breaſt plate, and a ſhield; but at the time of their conqueſt we find the ſoldiers had got compleat ſuits of armour, ſee plate 26, but what they were made of cannot be poſitively determined; at the ſhoulders and elbows they ſeem to bend with much eaſe, and from the folds in the ſkirts, I ſhould not imagine them to be very ſtiff. I may not perhaps be far out of the way, if I ſuppoſe them to be made of leather, thinner at the joints, to render them more pliable; the diamond croſſing I take to be ſtrong wires interwoven with each other, and made with joints where it was neceſſary for them to bend. This armour covers the whole body, legs, and arms, half the hand being only left uncovered for the better purchaſe in holding either the ſword, the ſpear, or the ſhield, &c: Their heads are covered with helmets, much ſuperior to thoſe we have ſeen of the Saxons, and ſeem ſtill better faſhioned to ſuſtain the ſhock of a violent blow; their being ſo high from the head is alſo an advantage, and may be deemed a ſpecial ſafeguard to the head; the projection alſo that comes ſtraight down before the face, prevents it receiving any hurt from a croſs ſtroke of the enemy's ſword. I take theſe helmets to be either iron or braſs, both of which were much uſed among the Danes, which laſt, if the rank or wealth of the

Northen Antiq. v. 1, p. 242.

North. Ant. v. 1. p. 242.

the wearer permitted, were gilt and poliſhed. “ It was the moſt noble manner in which a hero could employ his leiſure, to poliſh his ſhield to the utmoſt brightneſs, and to repreſent upon it either ſome gallant feat, or ſome emblematical figure expreſſive of his own inclinations or exploits; and this ſerved to diſtinguiſh him when in battle with his helmet over his face: but then every one could not carry theſe pointed or carved ſhields indifferently. When a young warrior was at firſt enliſted, they gave him a white and ſmooth buckler, which was called the “ ſhield of expectation;” this he carried till by ſome ſignal exploit he had obtained leave to have the proofs of his valour engraven on it; for this reaſon none but princes, or perſons diſtinguiſhed by their ſervices, preſumed to carry ſhields adorned with any ſymbol: the common ſoldiers could not obtain a diſtinction, of which the grandees were ſo jealous. In following times theſe ſymbols, which illuſtrious warriots had adopted, paſſing from fathor to ſon, produced in the north, as well as all over Europe, hereditary coats of arms.”

Their ſwords are both longer and larger than thoſe of the Saxons (ſee plate 26.)

The lance does not differ much.

Encom. Emma.

Hen. Hunt. lib. 7. p. 211.

Ran. Higden.

Matt. Weſt.

Matt. Paris.

Wm. Malm.

Speed's Chron. p 407

Flores Hiſt. page 437.

The axe is by ſeveral authors attributed to the Danes alone, (and moſt probably it was more uſed by them than by any other northen nation.) When Cnute cauſed the treacherous Edrick to be ſlain, his head was cut off with an axe or halbert, according to the writer who lived at the time. In the battle of Harald the Second, againſt his brother Toſtie, and the king of Norway; a ſingle Norwegian ſoldier with his axe defended a bridge againſt the whole army of Harald; and is reported to have ſlain more than forty of the Engliſh. But we are equally certain, that axes were uſed by the Anglo-Saxons, (ſee plate 4, fig. 6:) and we are told, that when Harald marſhalled his army againſt the Conqueror, he carefully ſet the foot in front, with their hollow ſhields and double edged axes or bills. “ Pedites omnes cum *bipennibus*, conſerta ante ſe ſcutorum teſtudine, impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt.” And Speed (quoting of Thomas Mills) writes thus, “ Harald marſhalled his battaile, placing in the vant-gaurd the *Kentiſh men*, (who by ancient cuſtome had the front of the battaile belonging to them) with their heavy axes or halberts.” Matthew of Weſtminſter alſo adds, “ *clavis & ſecuribus*,” thas is clubs and axes, to the weapons of the Normans.

North. Ant.

“ Impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt.”

It may be here obſerved, that it was a conſtant cuſtom with almoſt all the Norman nations, to draw up their infantry in the ſhape of a pyramid, or *wedge*, (as our old Engliſh hiſtorians expreſs it) the point of which was directed to the enemy. Their principal force was their infantry; though they had alſo ſome ſoldiers, who ſerved both on horſe and on foot; theſe were commonly placed in the flanks of the army.

North. Ant. v. 2. p. 257.

The call to arms was by the ſound of the trumpet, or horn. Thus in the hiſtory of Charles and Grymer, Swediſh kings, Harec, hearing of his ſon's death, (ſlain by Grymer) cries out, “ Let the bugle horn ſound to arms. I will go ravage Sweden, &c.” And in the ſame hiſtory is the following remarkable paſſage: “ King Charles is informed that his warriors are periſhed, *(by the ſwords of Harec and of his followers,)* that his chieftain Eric himſelf is deſtroyed, and that his army are weltering in their blood. He is likewiſe told, that in Harec's train there is a chieftain named Grunder, whoſe reſplendent ſword had made terrible carnage of his people. Grymer heard alſo this relation, and throwing down his dagger, ſtruck it with violence into the table; but the king with his pierced it through and through. All inſtantly fly to arms, and every one prepares himſelf for battle; the trumpet ſounds, and each warrior is accoutred,” &c.

Some Obſervations on the Daniſh Fortifications.

“ Their fortreſſes (ſays the author of the northern antiquities, ſpeaking of the ancient Danes) were only rude caſtles ſituate on the ſummit of rocks, and rendered inacceſſible by thick miſhapen walls. As theſe walls ran winding round the caſtles, they often called them by a name which ſignified *ſerpents* or *Dragons*; and in theſe were commonly ſecured the women and young maids of diſtinction, who were ſeldom ſafe at a time when ſo many bold warriors were rambling up and down in ſearch of adventures.

Northern Ant. v. 1. p. 243.

It was this cuſtom which gave occaſion to ancient Romancers, who knew not how to deſcribe any thing ſimply, to invent ſo many fables concerning princeſſes of great beauty, guarded by dragons, and afterwards delivered by young heroes who could not atchieve their reſcue till they had overcame thoſe terrible guards. Theſe rude forts were ſeldom taken by the enemy, unleſs by ſurpriſe, or after a long blockade: however, when theſe were of great importance, they raiſed terraces and artificial banks on that ſide of the fort which was loweſt; and by this means annoyed the beſieged, by throwing in arrows, ſtones, boiling water, and melted pitch; offenſive arms which the beſieged, on their part, were not negligent in returning.” As to the forts and caſtles built by the Danes in England, the remaining earth-works are not to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the Saxons; but by the accounts that may be traced from hiſtory concerning ſuch remains. The general form of them is alſo like thoſe of the Saxons, round; with a ditch equally broad and extenſive.

See Dalin. Suea. Rikes, hiſt. lib. 1. chap. 7.

In religious buildings, round towers and ſteeples, are ſaid to be certain marks of Daniſh architecture; but this I will by no means inſiſt upon.

Sea Affairs, and Shipping of the Danes.

Theſe people were very formidable on the ſea; both England and France, with other neighbouring nations, dreadfully felt the force of their naval prowess. Antiently their veſſels were but a ſort of barque's with twelve oars; but afterwards they built others more ſtrong and capacious, ſome of which (in the eleventh century) are ſaid to have been capable of holding a hundred and twenty men. The northern kings often built veſſels of an extraordinary ſize. Harold Horfagre built one which he called the *Dragon*, of enormous bulk. And king Olave Tryggueſon had one named the *Long Serpent*; this, the chronicles ſay, was very large and high, a wooden ſerpent was carved on the poop, which together with the prow, was gilded with gold; it carried thirty banks of rowers, and was the fineſt and largeſt ſhip that had ever been ſeen in Norway. The anonymous author of the encomium, Emma, who lived in the Time of king Cnute, gives a pompous deſcription of that prince's fleet. “The ſhips were richly gilded with gold and ſilver; and on the top of the maſt of each ſhip was the gilt figure of ſome bird, which turned on a ſpindle with the wind, indicating the point from which it blew. The ſterns of the ſhips were adorned with various figures caſt in metal and gilded with gold and ſilver; on one was the ſtatue of a man, on another was a golden lion, on a third a dragon of burniſhed braſs, and on a fourth a furious bull, with gilded horns; which dreadful appearances

Northern Ant.

Torfæus hiſt. of Norway.

Encom. Emma. p. 166.

See alſo p. 43. the ſhip preſented to Hardicnute.

joined with the bright reflections from the ſhields of the ſoldiers, and their poliſhed arms, ſtruck terror into the mind of the beholder.

Some general Obſervations on the Dreſs, Habit and Cuſtoms of the Danes.

The Danes were remarkable according to our Engliſh hiſtories, for their voluptuouſneſs,ſo we are not at-all ſurpriſed to find the bed ſo much better conſtructed for eaſe and indulgence, than that of the Anglo-Saxons.(See plate 27 fig.3.)

The dreſſes of their kings were grand and magnificent, though not much unlike thoſe of the Saxons; embroidered, and worked with broad gold trimming. They wore ſhoes, and alſo a kind of buſkin, the toe of which was turned ſomewhat downwards. They had either a cloak or a robe (like thoſe of the Saxons) ſometimes buckled over the right ſhoulder, and hanging on the left, and ſometimes buckling on the middle of the breaſt: ſee plate 27. fig. 2. and plate 28. where the cloak hangs over the left ſhoulder of the king, without being buckled on the right at all.

The ladies dreſſes differ but very little from the dreſs of the Saxon women, excepting that this of the Danes ſeems to be ſtill more grand and coſtly; ſee plate 26, fig. 2. See alſo the dreſs of the common people, plate 27. fig. 1.

We have remarked already, that the Danes who were in England in the time
North. Ant. v. 1. p.205. of Edgar, were great beaus, conſtantly combing their hair, of which they were very fond. A young warriour going to be beheaded, begged of his executioner that his hair might not be touched by a ſlave, or ſtained with his blood: and Harald Harfagre (i. e. *Fair Locks*) made a vow to his miſtreſs to neglect his
Ibid. p.327. *fine hair* till he had compleated the conqueſt of Norway, to gain her love. In the hiſtory of Charles and Grymer, Swediſh kings, the gallant Grymer is
Ibid. v. 2. p. 249 thus deſcribed as a man irreſiſtible among the ladies; "he was a youth early diſtinguiſhed in the profeſſion of arms, who well knew how to die his ſword in the blood of his enemies, to run over the craggy mountains, to wreſtle, play at cheſs, trace the motions of the ſtars, and to throw far from him heavy weights: in ſhort, he was poſſeſſed of every accompliſhment that could perfect and compleat the hero. By the time he was twelve years old, no one durſt contend with him, either with the ſword or bow, or at wreſtling." The higheſt treat that a lover ſuppoſed he could poſſibly give his miſtreſs, whoſe affection he was deſirous of ſecuring, was to ſhew his dexterity in thoſe martial exerciſes. For continues the hiſtorian, "he (Grymer) frequently ſhewed his ſkill in the
North. Ant. v. 2. p.238. chamber of the damſels before the king's lovely daughter; deſirous of acquiring her regard, he diſplayed his dexterity in handling his weapons, and the knowledge he had attained in the ſciences he had learned." &c. And Harold the valliant, ſeems to be quite ſurpriſed that his miſtreſs ſhould not reſpect him; for, ſays he, "I know how to perform eight exerciſes: I fight valiantly, I ſit firmly on horſeback, I am inured to ſwimming, I know how to run along in the ſcates, I dart the launce, and am ſkillful at the oar; and yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me." Then he enumerates the great dangers he has ſurmounted, and with what courage he endured hardſhips; concluding with great ſurpriſe, that after all this, "a Ruſſian maiden ſhould yet ſcorn him." And ſo fond were the kings and heroes of having their valour known, that they often

took the *ſcalds* or poets to the battle, placing them where they might look on in ſafety, and be witneſſes of their great and glorious actions. Olave king of Norway placed three of them one day around him in battle; crying out with great ſpirit, "You ſhall not relate what you have only heard, but what you are eye-witneſſes of yourſelves." And theſe *ſcalds* or poets were the conſtant attendants at the courts of princes and heroes, where they met with the moſt affectionate reception. Ibid. v. 1. p. 389.

The Danes (among many other amuſements) were very fond of cheſs and dice: for biſhop Etheric coming to Cnute (the Great) about midnight upon urgent buſineſs, found the king and his courtiers engaged at play; ſome at dice, and others at cheſs. Hiſt. Ramienſis a Gale edit. cap. 85.

Back-gammon is reported to have been invented about this period in Wales, and derives its name from *bach* (little) and *cammon* (battle.) Dr. Henry's Hiſt. of Britain.

The End of the DANISH ÆRA.

OF THE NORMANS, From the Time of their CONQUEST, TO THE Beginning of the Reign of EDWARD the FIRST.

LUXURY and idleneſs have been the ruin of the greateſt nations: ſuch is the fluctuating ſtate of human affairs that nothing can long remain in the ſame ſituation. This leſſon ſad experience taught our anceſtors, for as by degrees they mollified by peace and plenty, grew leſs brave and valiant, ſo by degrees decreaſed the ardent wiſh for glory and renown. The hoſtile trumpet now ſounded harſh in their ears, and this very people who in antient times prevented danger by diligence and valour, were now loſt in their voluptuous pleaſures, nor till the ſwift approaching ſtorm at once overwhelmed them, were they to be driven forth to arms and action. The old hiſtorian Wm. Malmſbury, lamenting tells us, that in the days of king Edward the Confeſſor, the Engliſh had transformed themſelves into Frenchmen and Normans, adopting not only their ſtrange manner of ſpeech and behaviour, but alſo the ridiculous and fantaſtical faſhions of their habits, wearing garments that reached only to the middle of the knee, clipping their hair and ſhaving their beards. Their arms were ornamented with golden bracelets, and their ſkin dyed, or pounced in various figures. The clergy alſo were not behind hand with the laity, either in ignorance or indolence, eating and drinking to filthy exceſſes. Theſe (as the old authors expreſs it) were the doleful times of lewdneſs and debauchery; blinded as England then was with vice of every kind.

Malm. Hiſt. de Geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. 3. page 58.

Such was the deplorable ſtate of the nation, when William duke of Normandy thought proper to aſſert a right to the Engliſh crown; from which period comes the third great change in the laws, cuſtoms and manners of the nation.

Of the Antient NORMANS.

The manners, and cuſtoms of the antient *Normans*, were preciſely the ſame with thoſe of the *Saxons* and *Danes*, " as being a branch (ſays Speed) from the ſame root," ſo that what has been ſaid of thoſe nations, may alſo be applied to the Normans. " Their habitation was originally in Norway, ſo called from the northern ſituation of it, and themſelves (ſays Verſtegan) ſtiled Northmen (now vulgarly Normans) for the ſame reaſon. In proceſs of time (continues the ſame author) whether it were through the ſterility of their country,

Decayed Ant. p. 165.

try, or that they were moved through their own courage and hardineſs, or rather occaſioned by both, they took themſelves firſt to rob upon the ſea coaſts of the Netherlands, England and France, ſometimes alone and ſometimes conjoined with the Danes."

After ſeveral attacks, and much damage done to France, one of their generals named *Harding* or *Haſtings*, who was deſcended of the blood royal of Norway, did receive the chriſtian faith, and had given to him and his ſucceſſors by Charles the Bald, (king of France) the earldom of Chartres, which they from time to time enlarged; and forced from the French part of Neuſtria, which being called Normandy, (after their own name) was confirmed to Rollo their captain, by Charles the Simple, about the year of our Lord 912. From this Rollo, (who being chriſtened, was named Robert) authors trace the pedigree of William ſirnamed the Conqueror, natural ſon to Robert (the ſecond of that name) duke of Normandy. Verſtegan informs us, "that the Normans on their firſt arrival into France, and during the time of Rollo (or Robert) the firſt duke of Normandy, did all ſpeak their own antient language, which in effect was all one with our old *Engliſh* tongue; and the ſame as the Danes alſo ſpake: and in the time from the end of the raigne of the ſaid Robert (if ſo ſoone they began to leave their language) unto the time of their coming into England, which contained about 150 years, they loſt their own ancient language, and learned the tongue which the Frenchmen than ſpake; moreover in that ſpace they alſo had (according to the French manner) appropriated unto themſelves the ſurnames of ſuch lordſhips, places, ſegniories as in Normandy they had poſſeſſed; the which ſurnames they brought with them into England, where they continued in ſuch families of them as there then ſettled themſelves." Thus much may ſuffice for the antient hiſtory of this people: we will now paſs on to their manners and cuſtoms relative to this kingdom ſince the Conqueſt.

Decayed Ant. p. 183.

The Fortifications of the ANGLO-NORMANS.

The Normans varied much from, and greatly improved, the fortifications of the Saxons.

The Norman caſtle conſiſted of a baſe court, ſurrounded by lofty earthen banks, topped with a ſtrong wall of ſtone; and to this they added a keep, or dungeon, which is a high hill of earth raiſed at one end of the fortification.

The noble remains of one of theſe caſtles is at Hedingham, in the county of Eſſex, where not only the earth-works are remaining very perfect, but part alſo of the original building on the keep.

The part marked C (ſee the Ichnography, plate 29.) is called the baſe (or lower) court, it is encompaſſed with a bank of earth, now 22 feet in height, and originally it was ſtill higher, but has been dug down to level and raiſe the baſe court; where there is now a handſome modern built houſe and garden *. Its breadth is about 110 yards, and its width near 100 yards; the preſent communication between the keep and baſe court, is over a brick bridge of three arches of modern ſtructure. The keep is exceeding large, and not ſo high as the keeps are generally found to be in other caſtles of the Normans†: it is round, and flat at the top; its

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[*] And is the ſeat of Sir Henry Houghton, Bart.

[†] Perhaps it may not be an improbable conjecture, that Ulfwin, (who was poſſeſſor of this manor before the conqueſt) might have had a caſtle here, and that Albericus de Vere on taking poſſeſſion of the

its diameter is full 90 yards; it was ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall on the brink, the remains of which are yet in many places evident: the keep from the middle of the ditch is full 30 feet high. Looking on the Ichnography we find that the keep A, is ſurrounded with a deep ditch B, B, which has communication at each end with the ditch E, which alſo runs round the whole baſe court; this ditch muſt in its original ſtate, have been full 14 or 15 feet deep; it now is upwards of 20 yards in width, and the compaſs of the whole work, walking round in the middle of the ditch, is full half a mile.

The remaining tower (on the keep) is about 50 feet ſquare and 90 feet high, built with rag ſtone, (that is large flints mixed with a ſtrong cement) and faced both within and without with great ſquare ſtones, like thoſe deſcribed in the fortifications of the Saxons: and this facing not only ſerved for ornament, but was extremely uſeful, for the cement that was mixed with the flints, where it has been well preſerved from the air and rain, is become as hard and permanent as the flints themſelves; nay, the workmen who lately made two doors into part of this tower, aſſured me, that it was "eaſier to beat the flints to pieces than the cement." Theſe walls including the facings are 12 feet thick.

The building is (as was before obſerved) four ſquare, and all the fronts are nearly alike, except the back front (where there is an arched door way and ſteps down to the keep): it was ornamented with turrets at three of the corners, in one of which, is a noble flight of winding ſtairs, containing 120 ſteps of ſtone. The chambers that are now in the tower, are neither antient, or in the places where the antient ones were made, the tracings of them being now almoſt entirely loſt. I obſerved in one of them a handſome arched cavity between two windows, which was the fire place, the chimney being carried up through the wall like thoſe of the Saxons. Originally there were two of theſe towers upon the keep, if we may truſt the old drawing made in the year 1665*. And indeed it is highly probable that there was another, for this remaining tower is not in the middle of the keep, as moſt likely it would otherwiſe have been, and beſides on the back front, by the ſteps, are the imperfect ruins remaining of the connection between the two towers. At the bottom of the preſent tower, they pretend to ſhew you a paſſage, or rather where a paſſage formerly had been; which, if you would believe the common report, did lead under ground to Colcheſter. I was exceedingly deſirous of finding out the cauſe of ſuch a ſtrange report, and particularly, becauſe at the caſtle of Colcheſter, they give the ſame account of a ſubterraneous paſſage, leading to the caſtle at Hedingham. On ſtrict enquiry, I was told the following ſtory by an old man who lived at Hedingham, and had from his childhood been backwards and forwards at the caſtle. The caſtle was once beſieged (I ſuppoſe in John's time) and all the paſſages round the country blocked up: after ſome time, the enemy ſuppoſing that the beſieged were in great diſtreſs for food, called upon them to ſurrender, but they within, (in deriſion of the fruitleſs attempts of the beſiegers) threw over the walls to them live ſea fiſh in great abundance, who being amazed at ſo unexpected a ſight, concluded that they within muſt have ſome ſubterraneous paſſage, leading to Colcheſter, (it being the neareſt place for live ſea fiſh to be got) deſpairing therefore

See the Account of Colcheſter Caſtle, p. 27.

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the manor, did rebuild it after the faſhion of his countrymen, which will well account for the extenſiveneſs of the keep, ſuppoſing that he did not divide the ground occupied by the former caſtle, but added the baſe court and other works to anſwer it.

* The people that ſhew the caſtle ſay there were two more beſide the remaining tower.

therefore of taking the caſtle they raiſed the ſiege. Tho' this is a fooliſh and idle ſtory, yet it is highly probable, that they might have really a paſſage under ground, leading to ſome obſcure and covered place at a convenient diſtance, by means of which, they might not only ſupply themſelves with food, but in caſe of emergency facilitate their eſcape. And 'tis not uncommon in old caſtles to meet with hollow vaults and paſſages, which ſeem no ways calculated for other uſes; neither is hiſtory altogether ſilent on this fact, for we read of Mortimer, earl of March, being ſurpriſed with the queen dowager, by Edward the third, through the means of ſuch a ſubterraneous paſſage. See alſo the account of that paſſage at the caſtle of Colcheſter, page 27.

Plate 29, fig. 4. is another Norman caſtle, the walls round the baſe court of which yet remain very perfect. It is Trematon caſtle in the county of Cornwall. The baſe court contains about three quarters of an acre; the keep B is large and fair, thar part of it next to the baſe court is 30 feet high, but behind where it runs down to the ditch E is conſiderably higher. The wall about the baſe court A A, is 10 feet thick, 2 feet of which are taken up by the garreted parapet, and the other 8 make the whole breadth of the wall, the heighth of which, meaſuring within the area, is about 30 feet. The holes where the beams went into the wall for the ſupport of the ſtage or roof, that went round within it, are yet evidently remaining in two rows, but ſo cloſe together that they would not admit of room enough for a chamber between them: this double beaming might moſt likely be for the greater ſtrength and ſupport of the ſtage or roof, on which the ſoldiers in time of action performed their duty. The Ichnography of the building on the keep is a perfect oval; the building itſelf has no windows in it, but as Mr. Borlaſe conjectures, had its light from a *well*, or opening at the top, (which muſt be gloomy and diſmal) from whence he alſo ſuppoſes, that the name of dungeon may be given to the keeps of the Norman caſtles; but how improperly then, would that at Hedingham, which for a place of deſence is light and airy (together with ſeveral others that I have ſeen) be ſo called? It ſeems that the more general opinion is moſt eligible, of there being in each keep, a priſon or dungeon for malefactors and priſoners; and from thence to have been ſo ſtiled: for many of theſe keeps are entirely hollow, and have cloſe ſtrong apartments; as may be ſeen in the ruins of the old keep of the caſtle at Walden in Eſſex, where there are ſeveral rooms, or more properly dungeons, which ſeem never to have had any communication with each other, ſo that the priſoners muſt be let down from the top. Alſo in the remaining tower at Hedingham, are on the front next the baſe court even with the ground, two large apartments which never had any windows, neither is the communication between them and the other parts of the caſtle (at preſent) to be found; for default of which, they were obliged to make two doors, before mentioned, before they could get into them.

Borlaſe's Hiſt. & Ant. of Cornwall, page 322.

I am ſorry to find myſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity, of contradicting ſome other aſſertions of that learned and ingenious author, Mr. Borlaſe, to whoſe ſtudy and induſtry, we owe the *Hiſtory of Cornwall.* Senſible as I am of my own inabilities, I can but wiſh the taſk had fallen into ſome abler hand: yet I hope it will be found, that my different opinion will be juſtified by plain and certain facts; for moſt certain it is, that if I had not been compelled, I would not have entered the field againſt a man, whoſe literary abilities are ſo much ſuperior to my own. He has obſerved, that the keep and baſe court, are probably Roman, but moſt certainly of Saxon conſtruction.

Among many reaſons given as proofs of this aſſertion, the following ſeem to me to be the chief:

Firſt, That the Saxons frequently occupied and improved the abandoned fortifications of the Romans.

Second, Elfleda (daughter to Ælfred the Great) built ſeveral fortifications, all called barrows, alias burroughs; and very properly (adds he) becauſe they were fortifications raiſed on hills, in the ſhape of barrows or tumuli.

And laſtly, (continues he) wherever the Saxons found a Roman entrenchment, they conſtantly called it Caeꞅꞇeꞃ, or Cheꞅꞇeꞃ, but their own they called Buꞃᵹhꞅ, from the hills that they ſtood upon. Now here our author has himſelf, undeſignedly, excluded the Romans from any ſhare in theſe hilly fortifications; for why ſhould their camps have been by the Saxons differently called, if they alſo were erected on hills (reſembling barrows) like their own? But whoever has either read attentively the Roman authors, (Cæſar eſpecially) and noted the deſcription there given of their fortifications, or ſeen any of their camps as they are now remaining in various parts of this kingdom, will, I queſtion not, at once deny that people to have any ſhare in the controverſy. It is however certain, that the Saxons did often make uſe of the Roman camps, as being conveniently ſituated, and ſometimes well fortified to their hands: but then it is alſo to be noted, that they conſtantly altered and faſhioned them according to their own plans, or modes of entrenchment. What cities and walled towns they themſelves built they called Buꞃᵹꞅ, or Buꞃuhꞅ. Either of theſe words, ſays Mr. Borlaſe, ſignifies a *hill* or *barrow* of earth: but we ſhall find a very different conſtruction put upon both theſe words by Verſtegan, (who was, without doubt, a man well learned in the Saxon language) for, ſays he, "all places that in old time had among our anceſtors the name of Buꞃᵹ, or Buꞃuh, now called *Bourough*, were places one way or other fenced or fortified;" which names he derives from Bıꞃıᵹe, or Bıꞃıᵹhe, to *hide* or *bury*, becauſe the ſoldiers were hid or ſhrouded from the darts and weapons of the enemy, by the high walls that ſurrounded them: ſo that we find he rather gives the name to the fortification itſelf, than to its ſituation; as a walled town would, according to this interpretation, have equal claim to the title of Buꞃᵹ, if it was built immediately upon a plain. But at any rate either of the above names could not be confined to hills like barrows only, for Beꞃᵹ, or Beoꞃᵹ, both ſignify a mountain, and might give them their name from their being generally placed on large high natural hills.

Or if the Saxons gave their entrenchments the name of *burgh*, from their being raiſed up on low, flat, extenſive hills, what compariſon can there even then be made between them and the lofty keeps of the Norman caſtles?

See page
and plate 2.

The chief difference between the Saxon and Norman caſtles is this: The Saxons built one regular, entire fortification, round, (or as near a round as the ſituation of the place would admit) encompaſſed with a broad ditch and double walling; while the Norman caſtles may be truly ſaid to conſiſt of two different and ſeparate fortifications on one ſpot, namely, the keep, and the baſe court; for they finding the round extenſive caſtle of the Saxons would by no means ſo well anſwer their purpoſe as a place of defence, (becauſe they brought with them the general uſe of the bows and arrows, croſs bows, and the like) they therefore divided a part (generally one third of the whole caſtle) from it, and throwing up the materials from the ditch, which they made much deeper, raiſed up the keep to a height conſiderably above the baſe court, (which laſt was compoſed of the remaining two thirds;) then to this baſe, or lower court, they added all round a ſtrong vallum, or bank of earth, ſtill higher than thoſe of the Saxons, fortifying it with a ſtrong wall (of rubble ſtone and cement faced with freeſtone) and a garrated parapet. They raiſed it to this height that they might with the more eaſe overlook and annoy the ſurrounding enemy with their darts, ſtones, and other offenſive weapons. The keep alſo, which was divided from the baſe court, was ſtrongly fortified, and raiſed in ſuch manner, as from thence to overlook the baſe court, as from the baſe court one might the adjoining country; and this keep thus ſtrengthened, ſerved them often when the baſe court was taken, to hold out a longer ſiege. "Then did duke Henrie (ſays Holingſhead) winne the caſtell of Malmeſburie, or rather the maſter tower or chief dungeon of that caſtell; (it is to be remembered that the walls of the baſe court were often fortified with towers placed at convenient diſtances, therefore the *keep*, from its being the higheſt and ſtrongeſt, is called the "*maſter tower*:" for (continues Holingſhead) as Simon of Durham wryteth, he (the duke) had wonne by aſſault the other partes and lymmes of the caſtell, before king Stephen came to remove him."

On plate 30, fig. 1 & 2, is the plan and perſpective view of an old fortification at Raleigh in the county of Eſſex. At A on the plan is the evident remains of the barbican or fortified breaſt work of the caſtle, * yet very perfect. B is a Norman keep, divided from the baſe court C, both which antiently (in the time of the Saxons) were one entire keep or hill. ‡ The communication here between the keep and baſe court is not over a bridge, (as is uſual in the caſtles entirely of Norman conſtruction) but over a narrow neck of earth, left in the dividing of the former caſtle, which ſpared them the trouble of digging it quite through, and anſwered all the purpoſes of a bridge. We never find the keep and baſe court thus joined, but where the Normans occupied and rebuilt the caſtles of the Saxons.

See Morant's Hiſt. of Eſſex.

Mr. Borlaſe next proceeds to inform us, that the caſtle of Trematon (plate 29, fig. 4) is evidently in part of ancienter date than the time of the Normans, tho', ſays he, it has doubtleſs been by them altered and improved; in proof of this aſſertion he refers the reader to the print, where the top and ancienteſt arch (of the gateway marked A) is round, and the ſmaller B, which is more modern, is pointed; which laſt method of building (adds he) was brought firſt into England by the Normans. Some part of theſe remarks are very juſt, for the Normans were undoubtedly the firſt who brought the Gothic arch into uſe in this kingdom; yet it is not a conſequence that muſt neceſſarily follow, that the round arch here ſhould certainly be conſtructed by the Saxons; for though its being round is a corroborating circumſtance, yet it does by no means amount to a proof, becauſe the Normans did not immediately, nor indeed till ſome time after their arrival in England, adopt the Gothic arch, eſpecially in their fortifications. This may be eaſily proved by any one who is willing to examine into theſe facts; ſee the caſtle of Hedingham, plate 29, the windows of which are perfectly round; as alſo the arches of St. Botolph's Priory, built in the reign of Henry the Firſt, plate 30, fig. 3. The laſt proof which I have to offer in contradiction to Mr. Borlaſe, is, that in all ancient hiſtories or delineations, *bas reliefs* or other remains, either of the Romans, or Saxons, there is not to be found the moſt diſtant mention, or repreſentation of diſtinct keeps, or hills adjoining to their camps or caſtles, or any deſcription whatever that will in the leaſt accord with theſe double fortifications of the Normans; but immediately after the Conqueſt (from which period we trace the almoſt total change in the manners, cuſtoms, and affairs of this kingdom) we find great mention made of them by many of the various hiſtorians, and that in ſo plain a manner, as to agree exactly in every circumſtance with the remaining earth works, &c. of the caſtle juſt deſcribed.

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* Some ſuppoſe theſe fortified banks to be the remains of the fortifications of the Romans; but I have no doubt but that in the preſent caſe they were only what were called the barbicans; though at Pluſly in Eſſex the Norman caſtle actually ſtands in the midſt of a Roman entrenchment, which is of very great circumference, but even there the barbican is (though much defaced) to be diſtinguiſhed.

‡ I have often in the courſe of this work made uſe of the word *keep*, both in the deſcription of the Saxon as well as Norman entrenchments: when I have applied it to the Saxons, I mean by it, the whole extent of the ground work of the caſtle, excluſive of the ditch. By the Norman keep I would be underſtood to mean only the hill conſtantly raiſed at one end of the caſtle, which is moſtly ſmall and high; and though it ſeems not in the leaſt to bear any analogy to the ground work of the Saxon caſtles, yet I will not deny but that the Normans may have been to them indebted for the firſt hint, making their keep ſmaller and higher, and adding an extenſive baſe court; thinking by this double fortification to render themſelves much more ſecure.

Some of the Norman caſtles were embattled on both ſides, that is, on the outſide of the baſe court, and on the inſide alſo. Leland has thus deſcribed the caſtle of Rockingham, (built by William the Conqueror:) "It ſtandith (ſays he) on the toppe of an hille, right ſtately, and hath a mighty diche, and bullewarks agayne withoute the diche. The utter waulles of it yet ſtand. The kepe is exceeding fair and ſtrong, and in the waulles be certain ſtrong towers. The lodgings that were within the area *(or baſe court)* of the caſtelle, be diſcovered and faul to ruine. One thing in the waulles of this caſtelle is much to be notid, that is, they are embateled on booth the ſides; ſo that if the area *(or baſe court)* of the caſtelle were won by cumming in at other of the twoe great gates of the caſtelle, yet the kepers on the waulles might defende the caſtelle. I markid, that there is a ſtronge tower in the area, (or *baſe court)* of the caſtelle, and from it over the dungeon dike is a draw bridge to the kepe and dungeon toure."

The walls round the baſe court (as has already been obſerved) were uſually ſtrengthened with turrets or towers, at certain diſtances, in greater or leſſer number, as the nature of the fortification might require; and in beſieging of theſe caſtles, it was uſual to erect turrets of wood to ſuch a height, that they might from thence overlook the beſieged, and annoy them with their ſtones, darts, &c. they had beſides a machine called catus, under which the miners might work free from the darts of the enemy. The mining inſtrument is called *ſcrophus* vel *ſcrofus*, by Matthew Paris, "Scrofa ad ſuffodiendos muros:" But when they attacked a town by water, they had a ſhip, whereon was built a ſcaffold of wood, on the top of which were poſted the ſlingers and archers, with the croſs-bow men, ſee plate 32, fig. 1; and ſometimes they uſed the ſcaling ladder, ſee plate 32, fig. 11. Camden gives us the following account of the ſiege of Bedford caſtle, (in the Time of Henry the Third) as tranſcribed from a cotemporary writer, who was an eye witneſs of the ſiege:

M.Par. 281

Camden in Bedford-ſhire, page 287.

"On the eaſt ſide was one petrary, and two mangonels, daily playing upon the tower; and on the weſt two mangonels battering the old tower; as alſo one on the ſouth, and another on the north part, which beat down two paſſages through the walls that were next them. Beſides theſe, there were two machines contrived of wood, ſo as to be higher than the caſtle or the tower, erected on purpoſe for the baliſtarii, *(ſlingers)* and watchmen; they had alſo ſeveral machines, where the baliſtarii, and arcubaliſtarii, *(croſs-bow men)* lay in wait. There was moreover another machine, called cattus, under which the diggers that were employed to undermine the caſtle, came in and went out.

The caſtle was taken by four aſſaults. " In the firſt was taken the Barbacan," *(or breaſt work before the outer Ballia, which ſecured the principal entrance*[*]*)* " In the ſecond they got full poſſeſſion of the outer Ballia," *this gave them free paſſage to the* old tower, *which I ſuppoſe was over the principal entrance into the caſtle yard)* " At the third attack, the wall by the old tower" *(or chief gateway)* " was thrown down by the miners, where by a dangerous attempt they poſſeſſed themſelves of the inner Ballia" *(or caſtle yard)* " through a chink. At the fourth aſſault, the miners ſet fire to the *chief* tower *on the keep*, ſo that the ſmoak burſt out, and the tower itſelf was ſo cloven to that degree, as to ſhow viſibly ſome broad chinks : whereupon the enemy ſurrendered."

The Normans, as well as the Engliſh, uſed often in caſes of neceſſity, to erect forts of wood for immediate uſe. Verſtegan informs us, that William the Conqueror on his firſt arrival in England, ſet up " three caſtles of wood, which had been made and framed in Normandy," and from thence brought over with him. And Mathew Paris tells us, that the warrior Hereward, when he withſtood the Conqueror, being in the fenny parts of Cambridgeſhire, (where he intended to winter) made a caſtle of wood. " Caſtrum quoque ligneum in ipſis paludibus conſtruxerunt, &c."

Mat. Paris Hiſt. p. 6.

However (as Dr. Henry judiciouſly obſerves) theſe caſtles of either the Normans, or the Saxons, may appear to be weak and ill conſtructed to the preſent age, in the time that they were raiſed they were found to be very ſtrong. The method of attacking the caſtle was generally by downright force, as a blockade ſeems from hiſtory, to have been but little practiſed by either of theſe nations. The iron ram, and other inſtruments of ſuch kind, uſed by the Romans, were not much regarded by either Saxons or Normans, their general uſe was (perhaps) rendered impracticable from the great and extenſive ditches which ſurrounded their fortifications. The principal machines had in uſe by our anceſtors in the attacking of caſtles (beſides thoſe that have already been mentioned) were theſe,

Dr. Henry's Hiſt. of Britain

The **Mangonel**, which (as I ſuppoſe) was a kind of catapulta, though much ſmaller than thoſe that follow. With this inſtrument they caſt great ſtones, as well as darts, &c. it was alſo uſed in the ſhips.—" Et Lapides de mangonellis navalibus, qui ſic parabantur, ut quinque vel ſex lapides ſimul de longo jacerent."

Mat. Paris Hiſt. p.1091.

Petraria, another ſort of machine for throwing very great ſtones againſt the walls of caſtles, &c.—" Circa urbem *Petraris* & machinas alias locaverunt: quæ cum lapidum ponderoſitate muros civitatis attriviſſent."

Ibid. p. 137.

Trebuchettum, *Tribunculus*, or *Tribuculi*, a very large ſort of catapulta, for throwing ſtones of a prodigious ſize. This laſt inſtrument I take to be the ſame with that which Camden tells us our anceſtors called **Warrwolf**, out of which, before the invention of bombs, they threw great ſtones with ſo much force as to break the ſtrongeſt gates.

Mat. Paris Hiſt. 624. 39, et 28. See Camden in Bedfordſhire p. 287.

Camden alſo mentions two other inſtruments of war, namely, the **Bricole** and the **Eſpringold**, but the uſe of either is not ſet down.

The bolt is a kind of dart (made of wood headed with iron) caſt by the mangonel.

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[*] This word *Barbacan*, ſeems to be thus explained by Grafton, who in his Chronicle writes thus, " then Gilbert, earl of Glocester, with his companie made bulwarkes and barbicanes, between the tower (of London) and the citie, and caſt ditches and trenches in ſome places of the citie, and fortefyed it wonderfully." Grafton's Chron. p. 155, and Hollingſhead vol. 2, 779.

But how lamentable a thing it is, that not only the form of theſe curious inſtruments, but even the method of uſing them is entirely loſt. After all the ſtrict reſearches that I have made, the names (and ſcarcely more) is all I could collect; for ſo defective in theſe particulars were hiſtorians, that if our preſent reſearches had not been greatly aided, by the ſtrict enquiry into the other remains of antiquity, we muſt not only in this particular, but in moſt others, have ſet down unable to underſtand, much leſs explain the manners, and cuſtoms of the earlier times.

Holling-ſhead Hiſt. Scot. p. 258.

It was the cuſtom at this period, when a town or caſtle ſurrendered, for the principal perſon in the town, to bring and preſent to the Conqueror, the keys on the point of a ſpear. Hollingſhead informs us, that when Malcolme, king of Scotland, beſieged the caſtle of Anwicke, and had reduced the garriſon to the laſt neceſſity; a young knight willing to undertake ſome hardy enterprize in its defence, took a ſwift horſe, and without armour or weapon, except a ſpear in his hand, upon the point of which, he bore the keys of the caſtle, rode into the camp of the enemy; who ſuppoſing he come to ſurrender the keys, received him with joy, and unſuſpectingly lead him to the king: the knight then couched his ſpear, as if he intended, with reverence, to preſent the keys to the king, but he watching his opportunity, preſſed his horſe on, and ran his ſpear into the eye of the king, and killed him on the ſpot; that done, he clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and by his ſwift flight ſaved his own life.

Of the Soldiers, Arms, and warlike Habits of the Normans.

The Normans, (as appears by hiſtory) firſt brought the more general uſe of cavalry into the kingdom; the chief force of the Saxon and Daniſh armies always conſiſted of their infantry.

Plate 31, fig. 8.

The horſe ſoldiers of the Normans may be divided into two ſorts, the firſt being thoſe who were compleatly covered with mail, and fenced on the breaſt and legs with plates of iron, and the ſecond ſort thoſe who were lighter armed; the firſt ſupported the ſet battle, while the latter were uſeful in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, &c.

Ibid. fig. 3.
Ibid. fig. 2.
Ibid. fig. 4.

The foot ſoldiers, or *men at arms*, were compoſed of three ſorts: firſt, ſuch as were compleatly armed from head to foot with mail; ſecondly, thoſe who were more ſlighter armed, bearing oval ſhields and long lances; and thirdly, men ſtill ſlighter armed than the foregoing, with ſmall round ſhields, and long light ſpears. The firſt were to ſupport the cloſe battle when the armies came hand to hand; the ſecond, called *ſpear men*, gave and ſupported the charge on either ſide, when the armies began to join; and the third were men whoſe office it was to gaul the horſe of the enemy with their long lances, when they gave the charge, receiving on their ſmall targets the points of the enemy's ſpears; then retreating behind the horſe of their own army, left them to ſupport the ſecond charge, conſtantly ſallying out as they ſaw advantage. Add to theſe the

Ibid. fig. 5.

Baliſtarii,* or ſlingers: theſe were very ſlightly armed, and always preceded the army, beginning the battle with their ſlings.

The *Sagittarii*, or archers, who were well armed with mail, and body armour of ſtrong leather; theſe ſometimes went before the army on foot, joined with the baliſtarii, and with them began the engagement : ſometimes they were mounted on horſeback and mixed with the cavalry. [†]

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* "*Baliſtarii* ſemper præibant." &c. Mat. Paris, p. 248, lin. 38.

The *arcubaliſtarii,* [‡] or men with croſs bows, who were always well armed, either in mail or body armour : theſe chiefly attended at ſieges of caſtles and towns, as alſo on ſhip board, where they were very ſerviceable.

Ibid. 350.

Beſides theſe there were the knights, and *ſervientes* or *armigeros,* [§] the attendants on the knights, or armour bearers, now called eſquires.

The defenſive armour of the Normans was chiefly the coat of fence called *mail,* eſpecially for the better ſort, others had body armours of iron or leather, and others only breaſt plates or gorgets; for we find the people were obliged to purchaſe for themſelves their own armour, according to their circumſtances. In the ordinance for the ſoldiers armour in Henry the Second's time, it was ſet forth, that all his ſubjects *(in Normandy, and other places on the continent)* ſhould provide themſelves with armour in the following manner; Every man poſſeſſed of goods and chattles to the value of one hundred pounds, [‖] ſhould furniſh out for the king's ſervice a horſe, and a ſoldier compleatly armed in mail; every man poſſeſſed of forty or thirty, or even twenty-five pounds, ſhould have at leaſt an *albergellum,* an iron helmet, a lance, and a ſword.

Hoveden Annal. Pars. Poſterior, page 349.

In England he ordered that every man who held a knight's fee, ſhould furniſh out a ſoldier compleatly armed in a coat of mail and a helmet, with a lance and a ſhield. Every freeman who poſſeſſed goods and chattles to the value of 16 marks, ſhould have a coat of mail, a helmet, a ſhield, and a lance; and every freeman poſſeſſed of the value of 10 marks, ſhould have an *halbergellum,* an iron cap, and a lance; and every burgeſs of the whole community of freemen ſhould have a *wanbais,* an iron cap, and a lance, which armour he forbad them, on pain of ſevere penalties, either to ſell or pawn.

There was alſo a ſort of armour called *alcato,* and another piece named *collarium*; theſe were both of them gorgets, or breaſt plates, either of iron or braſs.

See Matt. Paris Hiſt.

The antient mail was a ſtrong defenſive armour, made of ſmall iron links, with joints at convenient diſtance; and ſo contrived as to move upon each other with the greateſt facility. The horſemen, and better ſort of ſoldiers, were covered with this mail from head to foot, or, as Matthew Paris expreſſes it, "*ad unguem armatos,*" the face and left hand excepted, which were generally left uncovered, the hand eſpecially, for the more convenient holding of the ſhield : when the mail itſelf did not compoſe the guard for the head, they wore helmets either of iron or braſs. The ſoldiers of all degrees ſeem in the delineations to be continually without their faces covered, except the chief leaders and ſtandard bearers, who are often depicted with the beever before the face, which appears to be thin plates of iron faſtened on the mail; ſome few indeed have regular helmets, tho' of clumſy form. Thoſe helmets of their kings were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a crown upon the top.

Page 204.

In the lives of the Offas (ſee plate 44, No. 2.) is a figure dreſſed in armour much unlike any of the reſt; it is without doubt a ſort of mail, but wherein it

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[†] "Viri autem *ſagittarii* gentis Anglorum equitibus permixti," &c. ibid. page 64.

[‡] "Quidam *arcubaliſta* traxit ſagittam," &c. Rog. Hoveden Annal. page 450.--Et arcubaliſtarii circiter ſexaginta loricati, M. Paris, 591.

[§] 2000 militum præter *equites, ſervientes* & pedites, ibid. 253---Armigerorum & ſervientum, ibid. 518.

[‖] 100 libras andegavenſis monetæ in catallo," &c. Rog. Hov. Annal. page 349.

particularly differed from that above deſcribed, I cannot point out. In all the ſuits of mail we conſtantly find the knee defended by a thin plate faſtened upon the mail over the joint, yet in ſuch faſhion as not to hinder the bending of the leg: theſe figures have often (beſides theſe guards for the knees) *greaves*, or thin plates of iron or braſs put over the fore part of the legs, eſpecially of the horſemen, (ſee plate 43.) And plate 44, No. 13, plate 47 & 54, &c.

Hollingſhead Chron page 454. Albergellum or halbergum, or halbercum, is by Hollingſhead tranſlated harbergeon, but Dr. Watts in his Gloſſary to Mat. Paris, ſuppoſes it to be a breaſt plate or gorget; but I rather take it to be a body armour made of leather, fenced with an iron or braſs croſlet; or elſe plates of iron quilted on a ſtrong leather garment, as in plate 31, fig. 2.

The wanbaſis, or wambais, was I believe, a ſoldier's coat of fence made of leather only, becauſe they are ſaid to belong to the commoner ſort of ſoldiers.

Temp. Stephani Reg. Thus we ſee the Norman warriors were well armed and ſecured from the ſtrokes of their enemies. As Ralph, biſhop of Durham, told his ſoldiers by the way of encouragement, "that their breaſts were defended by ſtrong armour, and their heads with helmets; their legs were ſecured with iron greaves, and the reſt of their body by the ſhield that every one of them bore upon his arm."

The ſhields of the horſemen were very large, and broad at the top, decreaſing gradually to a point at the bottom; they were generally made with a curve, that they might cover the body more ſecurely: theſe ſhields were ſometimes of a vaſt ſize.

The oval ſhields, worn by the foot ſoldiers, were of a midling ſize, (ſee plate 31, fig. 2.)

The ſmall round ſhield (plate 31, fig. 4) was only uſed by the light armed men, who with their long ſpears galled the horſe of the enemy.

Their offenſive Weapons were

Great ſwords, in general about 3 feet and half, or near 4 feet long, which were double edged, and ſharp pointed.

The *bipennis*, or double edged axe.

The *giſarma*, in Chaucer called a brown , is ſuppoſed to be the bipennis with a longer handel, or a halbert.

The *pole axe*, or axe with an edge on one ſide, and a ſharp point on the other.

The tilting ſpear, uſed by the horſemen, called *burdare*.

The *gaveloc*, or javelin, uſed by the footmen.

The long ſpear to gaul the horſe of the enemy, uſed only by the light armed footmen.

In the ordinance for arms it is put, that "*uniquiſque habeat cultellum.*"

Cultellum was (as is ſppoſed) a ſort of knife or dagger.

To theſe may be added the *clavis* or clubs, headed with iron ſpikes.

The croſs bow, the form of which may be ſeen marked A, plate 62.

The long bow, uſed by the *ſagittarii* or archers.

The arrows for the croſs bow were called *quarrels*.

The common arrows for the archers,

The *ſpicula ignita*, * arrows headed with ſome combuſtible matter, and ſhot on fire from the bows into the towns or caſtles; they were alſo much uſed in ſea fights, to fire the rigging of the ſhips and gallies, &c. Theſe

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* "Miſimus igitur ſuper eos *ſpicula ignita*," &c. Mat. Paris, page 1090.

They had alſo arrows headed with a phial full of quick lime, which was ſhot into the ſhips of the enemies, [†] ſee plate 31, fig, 10.

The form of all theſe weapons and warlike inſtruments are exhibited in the ſecond plate of the ſecond volume.

Beſides the mail and armour abovementioned, they had ſtrong armour for their horſes, which covered and ſecured them entirely from the ſtrokes of the enemy. [‡]

The Military Arrangement of the Norman Armies.

The ſlingers and archers always went firſt, and began the battle with their ſtones and arrows; then the cavalry charged each other with their lances, which charge was ſupported by light armed men on foot, who were furniſhed with long light lances, with which they hurt and diſordered the horſe of the opponents; that done, they ſhrunk in behind their own horſe, who charged directly on the enemy, before they could recover their ranks and order; meanwhile theſe aſſiduous footmen conſtantly iſſued out as they ſaw occaſion and advantage. When the laſt charge was given, the light armed troops met with their ſwords, ſpears, and axes, doing cruel execution, and the foot being come hand to hand, the conflict muſt of courſe be long and bloody, where the force was any ways equal; during this time the archers and ſlingers on either ſide were far from being idle, and indeed the archers were often mixed in with the horſe, and from thence diſcharged their arrows. The battle fought againſt the Scots (in the time of king Stephen, wherein the biſhop of Durham was a principal actor) is thus deſcribed by Hoveden and others: "Then thoſe of Lodyan (whom the king of Scotland had invited to his aid) firſt began the battle, madly ruſhing on the Engliſh cavalry, diſcharging their miſſive weapons, and with ſpears of a moſt extraordinary length, ſtriking at the horſemen, who were ſo well armed in ſtrong mail, that they ſtruck as it were upon a wall of impenetrable iron. The Engliſh on their part had mixed their archers and ſlingers with their horſemen, who poured a continual ſhower of ſtones and darts on the enemy, which did great execution, they being very ſlightly armed. The Engliſh in the mean while remained in one body, immoveable, round their ſtandard [§]: in the end the Lodyan ſoldiers being greatly diſordered, and beat down by the miſſive weapons of the Engliſh, gave way, and ſoon after the whole army was entirely routed."

Hoveden, 277.

The method of gathering themſelves into a firm, impenetrable body, was conſtantly practiſed by the Saxons: ſuch we have heard was the order in which Harald martialled his men, drawing them up into the form of a *wedge*, or as Malmſbury expreges it, "*impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt*," placing his footmen with their heavy axes in the front; and nothing (ſays Malmſbury) could have broken this well compoſed body, had not the Normans by a feign'd flight drawn them from their good order to an over haſty purſuit.

[†] "Et Phialas plenas calce, arcubus per parva haſtilia ad modum ſagittarum ſuper hoſtes jaculandas." ibid. 1091.

[‡] "Cepit Rex Angliæ 100 milites, & ſepties viginti equos coopertos ferro, & ſervientes equites, & pedites multo," &c. Rog. Hoveden, Annal. page 444.

[§] "Et Anglorum in una acie, circum Standard conglobata perſiſtebant immobiles." Hov. p. 277.

The forces of the duke of Normandy were arranged after the following manner: The firſt front was compoſed of the footmen, with their bows and arrows, intermixed (according to Matthew of Weſtminſter) with others armed with axes and maces, or clubs; the horſe being divided behind them, formed the ſecond front. Hiſtorians have neglected to inform us of the manner in which Harald arranged his cavalry: at the firſt onſet (ſays Malmſbury) he, with his brothers, were on foot under his ſtandard, ſharing equally in the danger with the common men; but in the end, not content with acting as a commander only, he mounted a horſe, (perhaps to head his cavalry) and fought valiantly with the reſt.

In the former deſcribed battle, (fought againſt the Scots) we find the firm impenetrable body of the Saxons, and the Norman cavalry and archers mixed together: no wonder theſe excellent regulations, and the joining two ſuch advantageous methods of arrangement together, ſhould render them (at that time) an army almoſt invincible. The ſoldiers before the battle had ſome particular ſentence given them to repeat, which, with continual hollowing, they ſung to each other, with which they were not only greatly animated, but it alſo prevented their attending to the dreadful ſights before them; and the groans of the wounded and dying men (which might intimidate them) were not to be heard. We are told that the ſoldiers of the conqueror in the battle juſt deſcribed, began the fight with ſinging the heroic ſongs of the valiant Rowland; and in after times it was very common to give for the word, "God and St. George! Victory! Victory!" &c.

Mat. Paris in Vita Stephani.

The chief leaders headed the army, compleatly armed, bearing in their hands, the bipennis, or double edged axe. Matthew Paris has given a very beautiful deſcription of the warlike Stephen; "who (ſays he) when his army was fled, was left alone in the field, grinding his teeth with anger, and foaming like a wild boar; he roared out like a lion, and though alone, none durſt approach him; with his double edged axe he ruſhed on the enemy, and with reſiſtleſs fury drove whole troops before him, beating down all who dared to oppoſe him. Thus by his matchleſs valour he gained to himſelf immortal glory. Oh! (exclaims my author) if but an hundred men had come to help him, with proweſs equal to his own, he never had been taken!"—"but his axe firſt being broken with the weight of his death-dealing blows, and after that his ſword, he fell into the hands of the ſurrounding enemy thus armleſs and alone."

Hoveden, page 224.

Speed's Chron.

It was cuſtomary (in woody countries eſpecially) to fell the trees, and heap them up in the paths and paſſages, to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy; in the mean time they ſecured themſelves in ambuſhes in the neighbouring woods, and ſallied out to attack the enemy when they ſhould attempt to paſs the blockade. This ſtratagem was practiſed by Frederick, abbot of St. Albans, when he endeavoured, for the ſecurity of his monaſtery, to obſtruct the paſſage of the Conqueror, (with great trees felled and piled up acroſs the road) while he was on his way to London.

In landing their forces on the ſea coaſts (eſpecially if the enemy had taken poſſeſſion thereof) they conſtantly ſent the archers and ſlingers firſt, to clear the way for the foot men, who cloſely followed, beating down all who reſiſted them.

In Roger Hoveden we find the following account of Richard the Firſt's landing his army at Cyprus: "In the mean time the emperour had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſea ſhore, with his people, who were ill armed, and but meer novices in the art of war: they ſtood upon the ſhore with ſwords, lances, and clubs, having large planks of wood, and banks of earth thrown up before them for a wall. When the king of England and his people were armed, they went out of their large ſhips into the ſmaller veſſels and galleys, which being rowed with great force came ſuddenly to land, when the archers went firſt to clear the way, and being joined with the reſt of the army, they jointly ruſhed with great impetuoſity on the emperor and his *griffones**, whilſt the barbed arrows of the Engliſh, fell upon the adverſe party like ſhowers of rain upon the graſſy meadows; ſo that after ſome ſtruggling, the emperor and his army were totally routed and put to flight.

It was antiently eſteemed a great honour to bear the royal ſtandard. According to the Chronicle of Waltham, this office was claimed by the earl of Cheſter. The banners and ſtandards taken from the enemy were always much prized, and by the conquerors generally hung up in churches or monaſteries, in memorial of the action, and as gratefully dedicating thoſe trophies to God, who had protected and given them the victory. It was a laſting diſgrace for an army to loſe their colours, and hardly ever to be forgot, therefore, they fought with great ſpirit in the defence of them.

Stow's Chron. 420.

The ſtandards of the Normans are different from thoſe of the Saxons, as may be ſeen in plates 38, 46, and 47, &c. And they frequently bear the arms of the leaders pictured thereon: they had alſo a kind of ſtreamer at times faſtened to the end of their ſpears. See plates 43 and 55, &c.

See plate 3, of the Regal & Eccleſiaſt. Ant. of Eng.

Every leader had his own ſtandard, on which was painted the device which he thought proper to adopt, (which in old times repreſented ſomething alluding to acts of valour of its bearer, or his predeceſſors) and oftentimes the whole company had painted on their *tunican* (which was worn over their coats of mail) the badge of their leader.

Henry the third made uſe of a politic device when he attacked the French king; for cauſing every leader to have two ſtandards inſtead of one he made his army appear double, which circumſtance ſo intimidated the French, that they inſtantly quitted their poſt.

Speed's Chron. page 577. ſect. 7.

The word niding, or *nithing*, which antiently ſignified an abject baſe minded man, a falſe hearted coward, &c. was at this time a word of great force, and a name much deteſted by our anceſtors; for, ſays Mathew Paris, king William Rufus, on a ſudden emergency wanting to draw together a body of forces, ſent word to ſuch as held of him in fee, that all who refuſed to repair to his aſſiſtance, ſhould be ſtigmatized with the odious name of nithing, which ſays the author in latine ***nequam ſonat***, and immediately incredible great numbers flock'd to him from all quarters.

Mat. Paris, p. 12.

At this time and afterwards it was held gallant and worthy, for the generals to ſend bold defiance from each army to the other, in which they ſpecified what they meant to perform in the enſuing battle. William the Conqueror (then only duke of Normandy) beſieging Dampfort, hearing that the earl Martell was advancing with great ſpeed at the head of a numerous army, ſent Roger Montgomery, with two other knights, to deliver this meſſage to the earl. "That if he came to victual Dampfort, he ſhould find him porter there to keep him out." To which the earl replied, "Tell the duke, to-morrow by day break he

Daniel's Hiſt. of Eng. page 27.

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* *Griffones*, perhaps ſo called from their carrying large bills or halberts, which were crooked at the end like the beak of a hawk, which reſembles that of the fabulous monſter called *Gryſon*, half a lion and half an eagle, with a hawks head.

he ſhall ſee me there on a white horſe, ready to give him combat, for I mean, if I can of certainty to enter Dampfort, and that he may know me, tell him I will wear a ſhield without device." Then Montgomery made this reply, "Sir, you ſhall not need to take that pains, to-morrow the duke will be here himſelf, mounted on a bay horſe; and that you may know him, he bids me tell you, that he will wear on the point of his lance, a ſtreamer of tafaty to wipe your face."

Of the Religious Buildings of the NORMANS.

The buildings of the Normans at the time of their arrival, do not appear to have much varied from thoſe of our Saxon anceſtors. The round arch at firſt ſeems to have been chiefly in uſe, yet, however, it was not long before a new ſpecies of architecture was brought into England, called *gothic*; conſiſting of vaſt laboured ornaments and pointed arches: (which will be fully explained in the next volume) this ſtile of building ſoon prevailed in England, and was in proceſs of time almoſt univerſally adopted in preference to any other, eſpecially in the religious ſtructures.

The moſt antient Norman building I have met with, is the priory church of St. Botolph, at Colcheſter in the county of Eſſex, which noble ruin merits well the attention of the public. The main wall is full 6 feet thick, faced both within and without with hewn pebbles of a large ſize; the intermediate ſpace between the facings is filled up with brickbats, tile ſheards and ſmall rough pebbles. The ſmall arches on the front, over the door way, which interſect each other, (See plate 30, fig. 3.) are compoſed of thin ſmall bricks, which project about 6 inches from the main wall. The larger arches, as well of the door, as thoſe that form the body of the church, were originally turned with ſtone, and over that they were faced on all ſides with ſmall pamments about 1 foot ſquare, and 2 inches thick, which were all ſet edgeways. There are ſeveral appearances of windows in the walls, which are very narrow, as was the conſtant cuſtom of making them at that time. The arched door-way is very remarkable on account of its ſtatelineſs and grandeur; the neatneſs and elegance of the workmanſhip in ſhaping and placing the bricks, (of which the facing is entirely compoſed) is almoſt incredible; in ſhort, ſuch is the beauty and awful appearance of the whole, that the beholder muſt be ſtruck with pleaſure and ſurprize, at the ſight of this venerable antient ruin. Entering the church, we ſee the body which was very large, divided from two narrow ayſles by ſix noble pillars, raiſed with ſtone and faced at every angle with bricks neatly ornamented. Bricks at this period were held more ornamental than ſtone, as may be ſeen by ſuch pains being taken in this building to cover the ſtone with brick facings.

This priory was built by Ernulphus, a religious man, about the year 1110, in the reign of Henry the firſt, and dedicated to St. Botolph and St. Julian. Ernulphus was choſen firſt prior. I may alſo remark, that particularly in the great arches, and in the foundation of this priory, are a vaſt number of Roman bricks: but this will not be wondered at, when it is known that at Colcheſter was a Roman ſtation. And it is a ſtrong diſputed point whether it was not the *Camalodunum*, a great city of the Romans: though Camden and others place this city at Maldon in the ſame county.

See Morant Hiſt. of Eſſex and Camden in Eſſex.

Plate 30, fig. 4. exhibits a remarkable gateway, which formed the entrance into the abbey, dedicated to St. John, at Colcheſter; which abbey was built by Eudo Dappifer, ſewer to king Henry the firſt, and was finiſhed during the reign of that Prince. But I by no means think that this preſent gateway is of that early date, not only on account of the vaſt acuteneſs of the gothic arches, but becauſe the ſtile of the architecture ſeems to bear the evident marks of more modern invention: and if the view that is given by Morant, of the abbey church (engraved from an antient MS.) is authentic, I ſhall not in the leaſt doubt the truth of my preſent ſuppoſition, becauſe the arches of the windows therein are round, and the whole building in a faſhion as different from this gateway, as the gateway itſelf is from the ruin of St. Botolph's juſt deſcribed: but without any doubt this gateway is very old, and may juſtly be deemed a great curioſity. Its form is not quite four ſquare, becauſe the inſide front is conſiderably narrower than the outſide, which makes the two ſides incline each way from the front backwards. See the plan marked A: it conſiſted of a broad entrance, and a ſmall poſtern on the right hand; on the left hand of the gate is an additional building, which ſeems alſo very old. The gate itſelf is ornamented at the corners with four baſtions, which riſing higher than the reſt of the building form four handſome turrets, whoſe effect is very pictureſque and elegant. The main walls (which are about 2 feet and a half thick) are built of pebbles, unhewn flints and bricks, mixed with the ſtrong cement, which is curiouſly faced with hewn flint and free-ſtone. The light gothic ornaments are the free-ſtone, carved, and the ſpace between each ornament is filled up with the dark flint, cut like ſmall *teſſala*, about 3 or 4 inches ſquare, and 2 inches and a half thick: all the corniſhes and arches are of free-ſtone as is alſo the foundation, riſing full 2 feet above the preſent ſurface. One thing here is very remarkable, which is in the arches of the gateway that are faced with ſtone; theſe arches are firſt turned with bricks, and the ſtone ſet thereon with the cement, a method diametrically oppoſite to what has been obſerved of St. Botolph's Priory, where the arches are turned with ſtone and faced with brick.

Speed's Chron.

Hiſt. of Colcheſter by Morant.

Plate 30, fig. 4.

At the bottom of the firſt plate of the Daniſh Æra, Plate 26, (where it was put for want of room) is a view of the abbey chapel at Coggeſhall, in Eſſex, which was built by king Stephen, A. D. 1141, in the 7th year of his reign. This has the pointed arch, and was in its firſt ſtate far from being an inelegant building, though very plain and void of ornament, which was afterwards crowded in ſuch ſuperfluous exceſſes on the buildings of gothic ſtructure. The wall is compoſed of unhewn flints, pieces of brick and tile ſheards, over which the cement was neatly plaiſtered both withinſide and without, and ſeems in all reſpects to have anſwered the purpoſe of a ſtone facing. The four corners (on the outſide of the building) were ornamented with bricks, many of which are evidently Roman. All the arches of the windows and the two ſupports down the middle of the large window, are compoſed of bricks, having the ornament neceſſary for the purpoſe handſomely cut out upon them. This ruin is at preſent full as perfect as the drawing, but it is much to be feared that it will not long remain ſo, for being now turned into a barn, it will moſt likely ſoon be demoliſhed. Near this place without doubt muſt have been a Roman camp or ſtation, as well from the vaſt number of Roman bricks that are here ſeen, as from the accounts of hiſtorians concerning ſuch antiquities as have been found near this place. It has been by ſome ſuppoſed to be the *ad anſam* of the antient Romans, but this is entirely left to the judgment of the curious.

Speed's Chron.

See Camden in Eſſex, & Weaver's Funeral Monuments page 168, & page 63 of this work.

Of the Domeſtic Buildings of the Normans.

We are quite as much at a loſs for the form and materials of the domeſtic habitations of the Normans, as we were in the Saxon Æra, about thoſe of the Saxons. We have ſeen that the religious buildings (of the Normans) were moſt elegant: (according to the taſte of that time) the palaces, or rather caſtles of the great lords, were ſplendid and magnificent; no coſt ſeems to have been ſpared in the decorations. But yet, their meaner ſtructures were much diſregarded, poorly built, and but ill covered in: even the mother city of the kingdom, *London*, (ſays Stow) was in the year 1189 all built of timber, and covered over with thatch of reeds and ſtraw. Such miſerable buildings (eſpecially in ſo great a city) muſt of courſe have been very liable to be deſtroyed by fire, and unprovided as they then were with proper engines, &c. for the ready extinguiſhing the ſame, the devaſtation muſt in ſuch caſes have been dreadful and alarming. Indeed we often read of diſmal accidents happening, and of whole cities periſhing in flames, which when the manner of building is conſidered, will by no means be wondered at.

Stow's Survey.

It was thought meet therefore (ſays Stow) in the firſt year of the reign of Richard the firſt, (Henry Fitzalwine being then mayor of London) to eſtabliſh a law, enforcing all who from that time forward might build houſes in that city, to conſtruct them of ſtone to a certain height; and cover them with ſlates, or baked tiles, by this means ſecuring themſelves in much greater meaſure from a univerſal conflagration. I am inclined to think, that thoſe houſes of the better ſort of people in other parts of the kingdom, were either built with walls of rubble ſtone and cement, or with ſtrong timbers, which ſays Hollingſhead, was the antient cuſtom: but thoſe of the poorer ſort, could be nothing elſe at beſt than wooden frames faced with reeds, or laths rudely plaiſtered over for the walls, and thatched with ſtraw or reeds.

Stow's Survey of Lond. page 69.

But a farther inconvenience attending theſe buildings was the want of proper fire places, and chimnies for the conveyance of the ſmoak. It was a long time before the uſe of chimnies became general, for according to Hollingſhead, (who lived in the reign of queen Elizabeth) the building and increaſing the number of chimnies was done within the memory of men then living. "There are (ſays he) olde men yet dwelling in the village where I remayne, which have noted a thing marveylouſly altered in Englande, within their ſound remembraunce, which is, the multitude of chimnies lately erected, whereas in their younge dayes there were not above twoo or three, if ſo many, in moſt uplandiſh townes of the realme, (the religious houſes and mannour places of their lordes always excepted, and paradventure ſome greate perſonages) but each one made his fire againſt a *reredoſſe*, in the hall were he dined and dreſſed his meate, &c." The moſt common way antiently was to have a large hearth in the middle of the room, on which was made the fire, the ſmoak aſcended and paſſed through a large hole at the top of the building: the unwholeſomeneſs and inconvenience of ſuch fires may well be conceived, we need not therefore wonder in the leaſt that Hollingſhead ſhould eſteem the making and increaſing the number of chimnies an advantageous and noble improvement.

Hollingſhed Deſcrip. of Brit. p. 85.

Some Account of the Principal Manuscripts

From which the Materials for the Plates in this Volume are collected.

THE moſt antient MS. that I have met with relative to my deſign, ſeems to be Cædman's Paraphraſe of the Book of Geneſis, which is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This MS. was printed and publiſhed (without the cuts) by Fr. Junius, Amſt. 1655, 4°. Though it has been by ſome diſputed, whether this MS, was really the work of Cædman, yet it is generally allowed to be as antient as the time of that author, viz. during the eighth century. This MS. is marked Junius, No. 11.

The next is a moſt beautiful MS. in Saxon, preſerved in the Cotton Library, containing a vaſt variety of valuable delineations: the ſubject part of the ſacred hiſtory, namely, the whole book of Geneſis, with the acts of Moſes and Joſhua; with ſhort annotations, part in Latin, and part in Saxon, by the venerable Bede and others. In the preface to the Cotton Catalogue we are told, that by ſome it was ſuppoſed to have been the tranſlation of the ſacred text by Ælfricus, (then abbot of Malmſbury) at the command of Ethelward, an illuſtrious Ealꝺeꞃman. Others have thought that this MS. (in preference to that at Oxford) was the real work of Cædman, by reaſon that it contains ſuch parts exactly of the ſacred hiſtory as is aſcribed by Bede to that antient author; "totâ Geneſis hiſtoriâ, de egreſſu Iſraël de Ægypto, & ingreſſu in terram repromiſſionis," &c. Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 24. But whether this is the real work of Cædman, or not, the MS. is without doubt very antient, and about that date. This MS. is marked Claudius, B iv.

The next is another MS. in the Cotton Library, which is a Poem on the Virtues and Vices, by Aurelius Prudentius, illuſtrated with delineations of the principal ſubjects, in Latin, with Saxon annotations and explanations. This MS. is marked Cleopatra C. 8. In the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, is another tranſcript of this MS. ſimilar to this, in Latin, and Saxon annotations; the delineations alſo are much the ſame, only ſomewhat larger: this is marked F. 1.

Both the above MSS. may be dated about the latter end of of the 9th century.

Tiberius, B v. in the Cotton Library, is a curious old Saxon calendar, containing delineations of the employment for the 12 months; with various other matters. This is part in Latin, and part in Saxon, written (as I take it) about the commencement of the 11th century.

About the ſame age I ſuppoſe the MS. Tiberius C. 6. to be, which is the pſalter, with other holy matters; containing alſo delineations of all the muſical inſtruments then in uſe. This book is both in Latin and Saxon.

Many old hymns, with the note muſic, as uſed in the days of the Saxons, are to be ſeen in Caligula, A 14, written in the 11th century. For a full account of the three laſt MSS. ſee the Cotton Catalogue.

At Oxford is a curious MS. the frontiſpiece of which was written and delineated by the hand of Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as may appear from the writing at the top, (in a hand ſomewhat more modern) which is "*Pictura et ſcriptura hujus pagine ſubtus viſa, eſt de propria manu ſci Dunſtani.*" See plate 18. This MS. muſt have been in the 10th century

In the Cotton Library is a MS. in the Anglo Daniſh language, (marked Caligula A. 7.) ſaid formerly to have belonged to king Cnute; but however, it is univerſally allowed to be as ancient as the time of Cnute, whether it really was his book or not. It contains the four goſpels, and has ſix high finiſhed illuminations relative to the ſacred text. Mr. Humphry Wanley, in his catalogue of Saxon MSS. &c. ſuppoſes, that the illuminations prefixed to this book did not originally belong to it, but were added by Sir Robert Cotton, when he had the book new bound. But there is no juſt reaſon for this ſuppoſition, becauſe in the order of Sir Robert Cotton to the binder, concerning the rebinding of the MS. (which is yet remaining on a ſpare leaf) there is no mention made of the illuminations, or where they ſhould be bound, which doubtleſs there would have been had they been ſeparate from the book. Mr. Wanley (who places theſe illuminations about the reign of Stephen) thought perhaps that they were too well done, and too highly finiſhed for ſo early an æra. But if we examine the illumination of Edgar, (copied in the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities of England, which beyond a doubt is of the date affixed to the MS. viz. 966) we ſhall find it ſuperior every way, both in deſign and finiſhing, to thoſe in the preſent MS. though of ſo much earlier a date. And beſides, in theſe figures we may trace the eaſy tranſition of the habits of the Saxons, but a wide difference from all of the Norman æra, (ſee plate 26 & 27.)

Another is a valuable Saxon MS. Regiſter of Hide Abbey, written in the time of king Cnute, having his portrait, together with that of his queen Alfgyfe, prefixed to it, (ſee plate 28.) This antique curioſity is in the poſſeſſion of Thomas Aſtle, Eſq; to whoſe kindneſs I am indebted for the uſe of it.

I found a curious old pſalter (in the library of Trinity College, at Cambridge) which was written and illuminated by Eadwine, a monk, about the time of king Stephen. At the end the monk has added his own portrait, ſeated at his deſk writing. This portrait was engraved by the Antiquarian Society, and with it printed a full account both of the author and the MS. to which I refer the reader.

The other principal MSS. are three tranſcripts of that celebrated hiſtorian Matthew Paris.

The firſt is in the Royal Library, marked 14, C. vii. In the beginning is his own portrait, drawn by himſelf, (ſee No. 1. plate 35.) and the whole book (which is his Hiſtory of England) written with his own hand, (ſee the catalogue to the Royal Library.) In the margin are many delineations, repreſenting different paſſages in the hiſtory, drawn by himſelf.

The next is the Lives of the Two Offas, of the 31 Abbots of St. Alban's, &c. which MS. is in the Cotton Library, marked Nero, D. 1. This book one may naturally conclude was written by himſelf, not only from its being his preſent book to the abbey, but from the exact ſimilitude that the hand bears with that abovementioned. The lives of the Offas are illuſtrated with drawings at the top of each leaf, and which, without doubt, were done (with great pains and circumſpection) by himſelf, for they both in the ſtile and attitudes of the figures correſpond exactly with thoſe in the MS. above deſcribed.

The third is his Hiſtory, yet preſerved in Bennet College library at Cambridge, illuſtrated with marginal drawings, like that firſt deſcribed. The hand of this MS. together with every other evidence, plainly teſtify its being of a date as early as the time of the author, if not alſo written by himſelf. This MS. is marked C. v. xvi.

There are many other MSS. from which I have diligently collected a vaſt number of miſcellaneous materials, the enumerating of them here would be entirely uſeleſs, eſpecially as ſeveral of them are marked in the deſcription of the plates. I have therefore contented myſelf with this ſhort deſcription of theſe few of the chief. For further ſatisfaction I refer the reader to the ſeveral catalogues of the above libraries, where he will find them much fuller deſcribed, with their contents, &c.

The Deſcription of the Plates.

Pl. I. FIGURE 1, is caſtle Chun in Cornwall, ſee page 25; fig. 2, the plan of a Roman camp at Wallbury in Eſſex, p. 14; 3, a Saxon houſe, p. 37; 4, a caſtle. Theſe two laſt are from a Saxon MS. in the Cotton Library, marked Cleopatra, C. viii.

Pl. II. No. 1, parts of Colcheſter caſtle, page 26; 2, Braintree abbey chapel, page 35; 3 and 4, repreſent the plan and perſpective view of the earth works of a Saxon caſtle at Maldon in Eſſex, p. 24; 5 and 6, are the ſame of a caſtle built by Edward the Elder, at Witham, p. 25.

Pl. III. The plan and perſpective views of Colcheſter caſtle in Eſſex, p. 26.

Pl. IV. Fig. 1, a horſe ſoldier; 2, a ſingle combat; or *kemp-fight*, p. 32; 3, a foot ſoldier; 4, a principal officer, p. 30; 5, a king attended by his armour-bearer, p. 30; 6, a ſoldier fighting with an axe againſt an armed ſpearman; 7, ſpearmen in armour, p. 30. Figures 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7, are from Cleopatra, C. viii; fig. 4 is from Tiberius, B. v. and fig. 5, is from Claudius, B. iv. all MS. in the Cotton Library; ſee the account of the MSS.

Pl. V. Fig. 1, a battle: 2 and 3, are Saxon tents, p. 31; 4, the trumpeters with their long horns or trumpets, p. 32; 5, a ſoldier with a horn; 6, a kind of war chariot, p. 31. 1, 2, 3 and 5, are from Claud. B. iv. 4 and 6 from Cleop. B. viii.

Pl. VI. The building of the tower of Babel, ſee p. 37; from Claud. B. iv.

Pl. VII. Fig. 1, a wine preſs, page 44; 2, Pharoah holding a court on his birth day, p. 37; 3, a blackſmith; 4, a gardener; 5, a Saxon prieſt. This laſt is from Tiberius, C. vi. the other 4 from Claudius, B. iv.

Pl. VIII. Fig. 1, Abraham covenanting with Abimelech, ſee p. 37; 2, a king on horſeback, with his retinue, p. 39; 3, Joſeph introducing his father Jacob to Pharoah, p 38; 4, other figures on horſeback. Fig. 4 is from Cleop. C. viii. the reſt from Claudius, B. iv.

Pl. IX. Fig. 1, a ſhip, ſee p. 42; 2, a Saxon chariot, p. 45; 3, a cart. Fig. 1 is from Tib. B. v. the other 2 from Claud. B. iv.

Pl. X. Contains 4 of the 12 months, namely, January, February, March, and April; ſee p. 43.

Pl. XI. Contains other 4, May, June, July, Auguſt, ibid. et 44.

Pl. XII. Contains the laſt 4, September, October, November, December, ibid.

Theſe months are from Tiber. B. v. a MS. Saxon calendar.

Pl. XIII. Fig. 1, a marriage, p. 77; 2, a bed, p. 45; 3, a child-birth, p. 77; 4, a woman winding worſted from a bobbin; 5, a figure which I have thought worth a place here on account of its ſuperiority in point of proportion and elegance to moſt of the Saxon delineation; 6, a carpenter; 7, this figure has a collar round his neck, which bears the evident marks of the antient Saxon cuſtom, viz. putting a collar of iron round the necks of thoſe who were accounted bondſmen; the youth alſo wore a ring of iron in token of bondage, till by their bravery they had it taken off with honour, ſee page 18. This figure repreſents Joſeph, after he was ſold by his brethren to the Iſhmaelites, and made a bondſman, in token of which he wears the ring of iron. Fig. 8 is remarkable on account of his buſkins or boots. Fig. 1 is from Tiber. B. v. 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7, from Claud. B. iv. 5 and 8, from Cleopatra, C. 8.

Pl. XIV. Fig 1, a burial, p. 66; 2, mourning over the dead body, ibid. 3, the burial of Joſeph, ibid. 4, the burial of Abraham; 5, the prieſt or perſon who attended and perfumed the corps as it was laid into the ground; 6, a figure in an uncommon habit. 1, 2, 3 and 4, are from Claud. B. iv. 5, from the Cædman in the Bodleian Library, (Junius xi.) 6, from Cleop. C. viii.

Pl. XV. Fig. 1, is the interview between Judah and Tamar, Geneſis, chap. 38; and fig. 2, is the ſequel of the interview, ſee page 47; 3, two prieſts carrying the ark; 4, figures offering at an altar; 5, the Saxon pillory, p. 40; 6, the gallows, p. 41; 7 and 8, are the tunicans, or cloſe coats of the Saxons, p. 46. Fig. 4, is from Cleop. C. viii. the reſt from Claudius, B iv.

Pl. XVI. Fig. 1, a Saxon feaſt, p. 48; fig. 2, ditto; fig. 3, Lot entertaining the two angels, ſee page 49; 4 and 5, are figures holding different drinking veſſels, &c. 1 is from Tiber. C. viii: the reſt from Claudius, B. iv.

Pl. XVII. Fig. 1, a huntſman; 2, men killing and dreſſing their meat, p. 49; 3, a harper, p. 50; 4, a figure dancing to muſic, p. 50; 5, a man with a ſling caſting a ſtone; 6, a horſe with bridle, ſaddle, and other trappings; 7, a woman riding ſideways on horſeback, p. 48. Fig. 4, is from Cleop. C. 8. the reſt from Claud. B. iv.

Pl. XVIII. The figure of St. Dunſtan, kneeling before our Saviour, p. 71.

Pl. XIX. A muſical concert, king David ſitting in the middle, playing on his harp. Since the account of this plate (page 50) was printed, I have met with a curious circumſtance in the antient Edda, which explains the employment of the figure (on the top of the plate on the left hand) with the balls and knives, the playing with which was a gallant amuſement among the northern nations; for, ſays the Edda, "Gylff coming to Aſgord, at the entance of a ſtately palace, (built by the Gods) he ſaw a man playing with little ſwords, *(or daggers)* which he amuſed himſelf with, toſſing them into the air, and catching them as they fell, one after another," in which manner the preſent figure is evidently employed. This might, as I before obſerved, (page 50) in ſome meaſure anſwer to the preſent method of beating of time to the muſic. This plate is taken from Tiber. C. vi.

Pl. XX. Muſical inſtruments: in the MS. they are thus deſcribed—No. 1. Nabulum eſt quod grece dicit pſalterium quod apſalendo dicitur ad ſimilitudinem del *dae*, id eſt in modum del dae littere ad ſimilitudinem cythare. No. 2. Pſalterium eſt, quaſi in modum clypei quadrati, & corde eius contrarie ſunt abino maltum. 3. Hoc eſt tympanum. 3*. Hoc eſt forma tympanitym panum pellis pillacis eſt inflata abens calamos 11os. in labiis & unum in collo. No. 4. Hoc eſt forma cythare, quis prius fuit Cythariſta id eſt *toba* filius ſtelle & *iemres* & pſalterium abeis ortum diſtat in modulo. 5. In tintin nabulum ferro et *eramento* facit, q$^{d.}$ per ſonat per linguam ferream in medio ſuo quod concitat, &c. cutit manu tenentis & ſu ſcitat adorationem hec eſt forma. 6. Sabuca et muſicis genus informe in libro damelis dr. neſcio quando dr. cinares ut quidem putant acitabulum q$^{d.}$ per cuſa in modulas concitatur quidam putant fiſtulu eſt T colamus ſcapuli teramenti T de cortice. 7. Hæc manus muſica canticum eſt duo calamiſunt de auricalco .in ore ſonantur omnem canticum quòd in ore cantatur muſicum eſt hæc forma tubae tertié fiſtule in capite, Auguſto IIII *ucae*deductae. 9. Pennola pennoil nuncupatur hæc forma.

Pl. XXI. Corus eſt pellis ſimplex, cum duabus cicutis; this is wrote under No. 1 and 2. No. 3. Hic eſt forma pſalterii. No. 4. Duo bunibula vel bunibala ſemper aequalia; this is alſo written under No. 5. No. 6. Hæc eſt forma fiſtulæ hoc bumbulum cum fiſtulo aeres hoc XV bumbula vel bunibula æerea—cum fiſtulis in medio poſitis ſed tria tamen bumbula in uno quo que latere. 7. Hæc eſt forma eius de quatuor chordas habeth de ligno modulatus chorus eſt. 8. The form of an antient lyre. All theſe muſical inſtruments (contained in theſe two laſt plates) are from Tiber, C. vi. the laſt No. 8 excepted, which is from Tiber, B. V.

Pl. XXII. Fig. 1, is a Saxon ſtandard; 2 and 3, are ſwords; 4, a kind of ſling, born by the horſemen; 5 and 6, as well as 22, are ſtaffs of office; 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, are different ſorts of ſpears; 12 and 13, knives, or rather daggers; 14, the bipennis; 15 and 16, other Saxon axes; 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21, are different ſcepters; 23, 24, the bow, arrow, and quiver; 25, 26, 27, ſhields; that marked 26, ſeems only to have been borne by thoſe who fought with the bipennis; 28, the Saxon horn; 29 and 30, the tubæ or trumpets, ſee p. 32. 14, 22, 29 and 30, are from the Aurelius Prudentius, at Bennet College, Cambridge, marked F. 1. the reſt from the MSS. above quoted.

Pl. XXIII. From 1 to 8 are different Saxon crowns; 9, 10 and 11, are diadems or hoops of gold, enriched with jewels worn by the kings and noblemen; the letter A is a helmet; B and D are ſoldiers caps; E the nobleman's helmet; the Ealꝺeꞃmanꞅ cap is in the ſame ſhape, but without the jewels and ornaments, ſee plate 8, fig. 2, and page 39. E, a different head dreſs of a perſon of diſtinction. F, G, H, and I, are different ſhoes. K, L, M, N, O, and P, ſeats and thrones. R, and S, a Saxon fibula, page 46. One or two of the crowns are from coins of the Saxons, the reſt from the MSS. above quoted.

Pl. XXIV. From 1 to 20, are different cups and veſſels. A, a pair of ſhears. B, long pincers or tongs. C, a knife uſed in writing. D, a ſtile or pen. E, another pen, with the ink ſtand. F, F, common pincers. G, a carpenters axe. H, I, K, and L, two chiſſels, and 2 hammers. M, a pair of ſcales. N, and O, the cenſors in which the prieſts put the perfume, in performing the office of maſs, &c. Theſe are all from the foregoing MSS.

Pl. XXV. The ſhrine of St. Ethelbert: it was found in the poſſeſſion of the Bodenhams, an antient family near Hereford, and is now in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Ruſſel, one of the canons of the cathedral church of Hereford, ſee page 77 ~~1~~78. The drawing of this valuable curioſity, was kindly communicated to me by Thomas Aſtle, Eſq.

Pl. XXVI. Fig. 1, Daniſh ſoldiers, 2, the Virgin Mary, ſee p. 86; at the bottom is the abbey chapel of Coggeſhall in Eſſex, ſee p. 103: and a Saxon plough from the Oxford Cædman, page 74. all the figures are from a MS. in the Cotton library, marked Caligula, A vii.

Pl XXVII. Fig. 1, Daniſh ſhepherds, 2, the habits of the Daniſh kings, p. 86, 3 the Virgin Mary with the infant Jeſus on a bed, p. 86, 4 the habit of two prieſts; the laſt two figures are from Mr. Aſtle's Regiſter of Hide abbey, (ſee the account of the MS.) the reſt from the MS. laſt quoted.

Plate No. XXVIII. The portraits of king Cnute and Alfgyfe his queen, from the above mentioned MS. in the poſſeſſion of Tho. Aſtle, Eſq.

Pl. XXIX. No. 1, the perſpective view of Hedingham caſtle, p. 89. 2, the building on the keep, 3, the plan of the whole, 4, Trematon caſtle, ſee p. 96.

Pl. XXX. Ground plot of Rayleigh caſtle, ſee p. 93. Perſpective of ditto. 3, St. Botolph's Priory, ſee p. 102, 4, St. John's abbey gate, p. 103.

Pl. XXXI. No. 1, a Norman archer, 2, a ſpearman, 3, a footman in mail, 4, a ſpearman, 5, a ſlinger, 6 and 7, croſs bow-men, 8, horſe ſoldiers, ſee p. 96 and 97, 9, a ſea-fight, 10, a man poliſhing his ſword, 11, a man grinding his ſword to an edge on a grindſtone. No. 2 and 3, are from Claud. D ii, 1, 5, 6, 7, and 9, from a tranſcript of Mat. Paris, in Bennet college library, mark'd C. v. xvi. 4 and 8, from Nero D i, another tranſcript of M. Paris in the Cotton library, 10 & 11, are from the Pſalter of Eadwine in Trinity college Cambridge, marked R. 17, 1.

Pl. XXXII. Fig. 1, the attacking a caſtle by ſea, 2, a royal ſhip, 3, a ſhip of war armed with an iron prow, 4 and 8, are ferry boats, 5, a man ſowing of corn, 6, reaping, 7, ploughing, 10, a mower whetting his ſcyth, 9, a blackſmith's forge, 11, attacking a caſtle by land, 1, 2, 3, 8 and 11, are from the Cambridge Mat, Paris, 4. 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10, from the Pſalter of Eadwine.

Plate XXXIII. Fig. 1, a woman crowning another, who holds a ſcepter, 2, a prieſt adminiſtering the ſacrament to a dying king, 3, a man thraſhing, 4, entombing a biſhop, 5, a ſurgeon performing the operation of cutting the "*Fungus de nare*," 6, a monk, 7, a man playing the violin, 8, Samuel anointing Saul, 9, a man in the ſtocks, 10, a hammer uſed in beating hemp, 11, a corps wraped up for burial, xii, an organ. No. 1, is from Titus D 1, MS. in the Cotton library. 2, 3, 4, 6, and 10, from a tranſcript of Mat. Paris in the royal library, marked 14, C. vii. 5 is in a MS. on ſurgery, written about Stephen's time, in the Harleian library, marked 1, 5, 8, 5. 7 from a MS. in the Bodleian library, Oxford, about the time of Henry the IId. 8, 9, 11 and 12 from the Pſalter of Eadwine.

Plate XXXIV. A portrait of John de Walingford, prefixed to his Chronicle of England, which MS. is of ſo early a date, as probably to be his own hand writing. He died, A. D. 1213. The MS. that this portrait is taken from is in the Cotton library, marked Julius, D. vii.

Pl. XXXV. Contains two portraits of that famous hiſtorian Mat. Paris: the top is ſuppoſed to be drawn by his own hand: the bottom one by the Monk who continued his hiſtory; it repreſents Paris as he lay dying, which was An. 1259. The MS. that this is taken from is in the royal library, marked 14, C. vii. ſee the deſcription of the MS.

All the following 33 plates, except ſome few additions to plate 62, are from the tranſcript of Mat. Paris, in the Cotton library, marked Nero D. 1, ſuppoſed to be drawn by his own hand; they contain the lives of Offa the Iſt and IId.

Plate XXXVI. No. 1, Warmund king of the Eaſt Angles had a ſon named Offa, who was born both blind and dumb. As the king himſelf was grown old (not having any other child to inherit his crown) an ambitious lord named Riganus, aided by his accomplice Mitunno, began to aſpire to the throne.

No. 2, Offa by fervent prayer being miraculouſly reſtored to his ſight and ſpeech, theſe two ambitious men thus diſappointed in their ſanguine hopes raiſed an open rebellion.

Plate XXXVII. No. 1, the good old king, tranſported with joy at his ſon's miraculous recovery, cauſes him to be habited and honoured with the enſigns of knighthood.

No. 2, Offa ſets out at the head of his father's army, and in a ſet battle overcomes the rebels.

Plate XXXVIII. He kills the two ſons of Riganus and obtains a compleat victory.

Plate XXXIX. No. 1, He humanely permits the friends and relations of the deceaſed, unmoleſted to mourn over them, and with his army aſſiſts in their honourable interment.

No. 2, The joyful father with tears and bleſſings receives his victorious ſon. Then ſeating him before him, cauſes the nobles to ſwear allegiance to him.

Plate XL. Offa's father preſents him with his treaſure, then dying was buried at Gloceſter.

Pl. XLI. King Offa having loſt his way in a wood, found a beautiful damſel (who proved to be daughter to one of the petty kings of Yorkſhire) cruelly expoſed by her barbarous and luſtful father, to periſh there for want, becauſe ſhe virtuouſly withſtood his inceſtuous deſires. The king comforted her, and cauſed her to be treated with all becoming reſpect.

Pl. XLII. He after ſome deliberation marries the virgin. The king of Northumberland implores his aid againſt the Scots.

Pl. XLIII. Offa goes to aſſiſt the king of Northumberland and overcomes the Scotiſh army.

Pl. XLIV. No. 1, Offa ſends a letter of inſtruction from Scotland to his chiefs at home. The meſſenger is ſtopped by the very king whoſe daughter Offa had married, he burning with anger that his purpoſes had been defeated, and himſelf expoſed, meditated a ſevere revenge: cauſing the meſſenger therefore to be fairly intreated he diſguiſed him with liquor, then getting the true letter from him, he incloſed in the ſame cover a forged one, ſtrictly commanding thoſe to whom it was directed, to ſeize the queen and her children, and carry them into an unfrequented wood, and there kill the children before her face, and leave her to die of grief and hunger; which meſſage is with grief received by the nobles.

No. 2, Repreſents this diſmal ſcene put in execution, where the lamentable cries of the unhappy mother, brings a pious hermit to her relief, who by his fervent prayers reſtores the children to life, and ſuccours the diſtreſſed mother. Victorious Offa meanwhile returns into his kingdom.

Pl. XLV. His courtiers tell him the diſtreſſing news. He ſets out in ſearch of his queen and meets with the holy hermit.

No. 2, And is introduced to his wife and children. He dies and is buried.

The Life of the ſecond Offa, who reſembled the firſt.

Pl. XLVI. No. 1, Offa the ſecond born deaf and blind. He was the ſon of Tainfred (who was of the blood royal) by his conſort Marcella. Offa being preſented by his parents in the Temple of God, by fervent prayer miraculouſly attained to his ſight and hearing.

No. 2, He is knighted and bleſſed by his father.

Pl. XLVII. He overcomes Bearmred the uſurping king of Mercia.

Plate XLVIII. He is crowned king of the Mercians. About this time Drida (or Quendrida) a virgin, of near relation to Charles king of France, being falſely accuſed of a great crime, was put on board of a boat without oars, rudder, or tackle, and was driven by accident on the Engliſh ſhore.

Pl. XLIX. No. 1, She is preſented to the king, whom ſhe informs of her innocence. He marries her.

No. 2, The neighbouring kings, jealous of Offa's growing greatneſs, conſult together, and ſend a letter to Charles the Iſt king of France. He receives it and writes to Offa his commands, not to moleſt the neighbouring powers.

Pl. L. Offa entirely diſregarding the menaces of Charles, fights with and overcomes the king of the Eaſt Angles.

Pl. LI. Charles the Iſt of France being dead, is ſucceeded by his brother Charles the IId. Him the neighbouring kings ſollicit by meſſage with great earneſtneſs. He alſo writes to Offa, who without regarding it purſues his victories.

Offa

Pl. LII. Offa overcomes the king of Kent.

Pl. LIII. He overcomes the joint forces of the kings of Northumberland, of the South and Weſt Saxons, &c. who fly to Wales for protection.

Pl. LIV. Offa ſends a letter to the king of Wales, forbiding him to receive, or aid the fugitive kings: but the Welch king joining with the fugitives, Offa proceeds into Wales, and overcomes the whole of their forces.

No. 2, The kings of Northumberland and the South Saxons, with the king of Wales, league themſelves together againſt Offa. To protract the time, they ſend a ſubmiſſive meſſage to Offa with preſents, and obtain a truce.

Pl. LV. While the truce yet continued, the leagued kings treacherouſly attack the camp of Offa.

Pl. LVI. Offa revenges their perfidy by a total defeat of their joint forces.

Pl. LVII. No. 1, He cauſes the dead to be decently interred, and maſs to be celebrated for the good of their departed ſouls.

No. 2, He writes to Charles of France excuſing himſelf. Charles returns a congratulatory epiſtle.

Pl. LVIII. No. 1, And ſends Offa a book containing the decrees of the ſecond council of Nice. Offa grants ſafe conduct to the ſubjects of Charles.

No. 2, He ſends a meſſage to the Pope, for leave to transfer the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury to Lichfield. (in his own dominions) Eadulphus is made the firſt archbiſhop.

Pl. LVIX. He overcomes the Danes, who had landed and began to ravage the ſea coaſts.

Pl. LX. He marries his eldeſt daughter to Brithricus, king of the Weſt Saxons.

His ſecond to Ethelred, king of Northumberland. And betroths his third daughter to Ethelbert, king of the Eaſt Angles.

Pl. LXI. Quendrida wife to Offa, wickedly purſuades him to murder Ethelbert, and ſeize on his kingdom, which murder at her command was done.

Pl. LXII. No. 1, The head of this unfortunate prince by chance falling down as his body was carried away, was found by a blind man that ſtumbled againſt it, who accidentaly putting ſome of the blood upon his eyes, recovered his ſight. A well alſo ſprang up where the head fell. This is that Ethelbert whoſe ſhrine is given in plate 25, ſee page 78.

No. 2, The archbiſhop of Lichfield obtains leave, and decently inters the dead body. Offa honours his ſon with knighthood, and cauſed him to be crowned king.

Pl. LXIII. No. 1, An Angel, in a dream, reveals to Offa where the bones of St. Alban were repoſited.

No. 2, The finding the bones of that ſaint in a wooden cheſt.

Pl. LXIV. No. 1, The proceſſion of St. Alban's ſhrine, and miraculous recovery of two lame men.

No. 2, Offa croſſes the ſea to Rome.

Pl. LXV. No. 1, Does Homage to the Pope.

No. 2, Being returned home he builds the abbey of St. Albans.

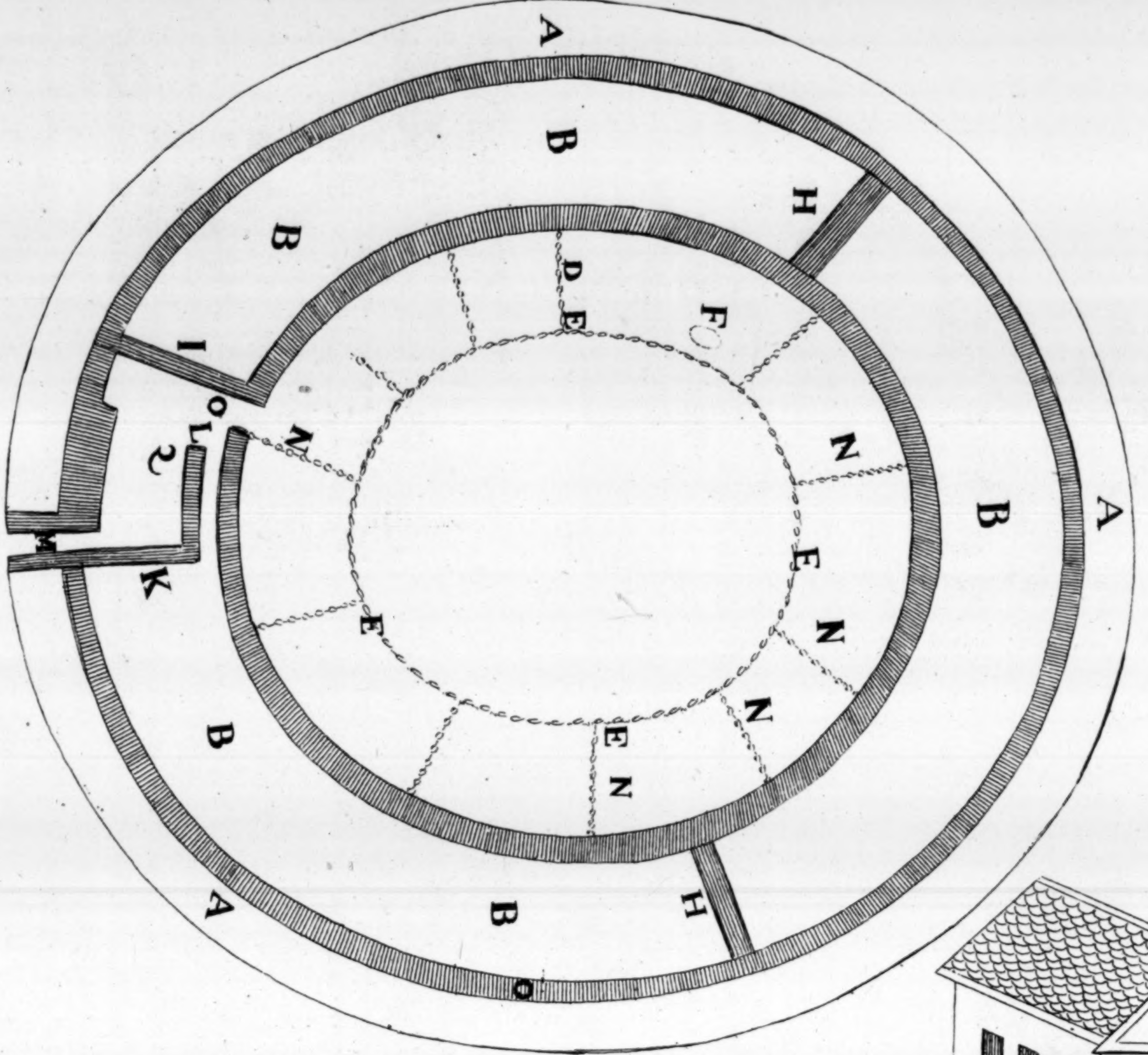
Pl. LXVI. No. 1, Willegoda is by Offa conſtituted firſt abbot. The king and Willegoda praying together at the high altar.

No. 2, The burial of Offa.

Pl. LXVII. Offa ſeated on a throne between two monks, (who are kneeling) treading on a lion; an emblem of his vaſt power and victories; holding in his right hand the abbey of St. Albans, and in his left a magnificent ſcepter.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Fig I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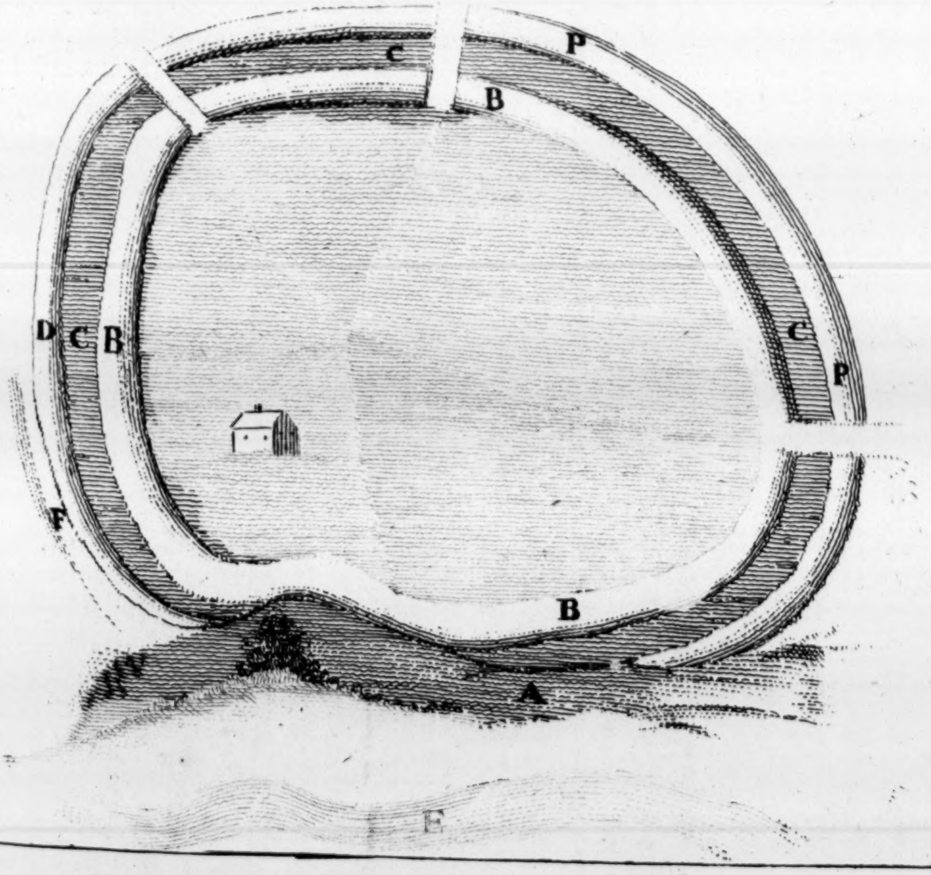
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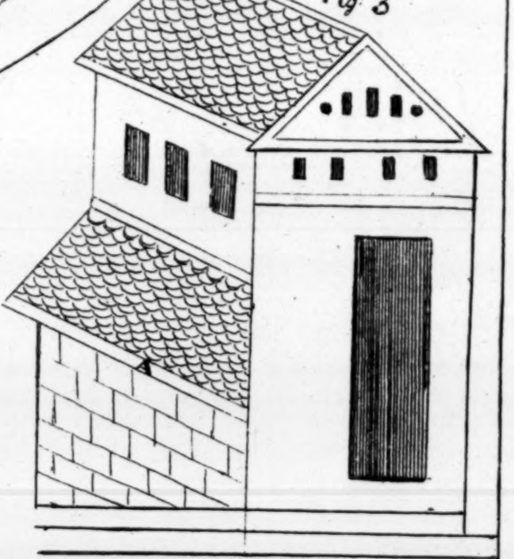
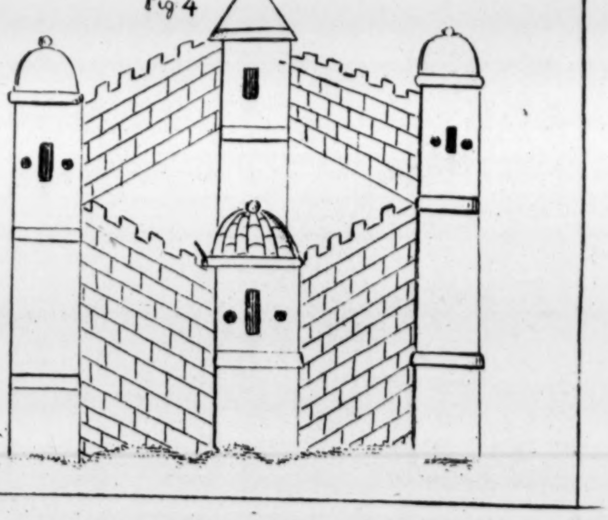


Fig 4



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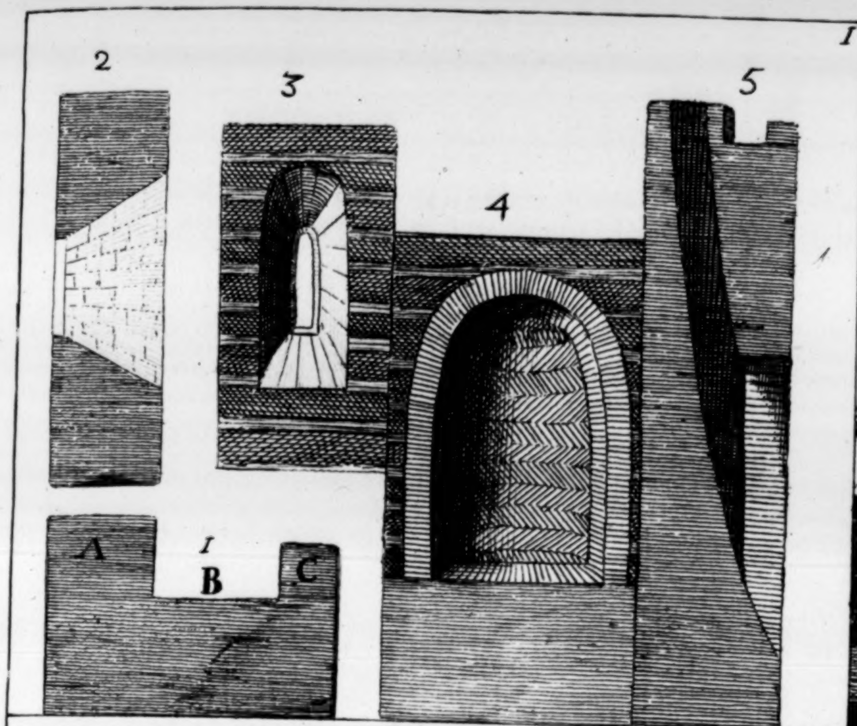

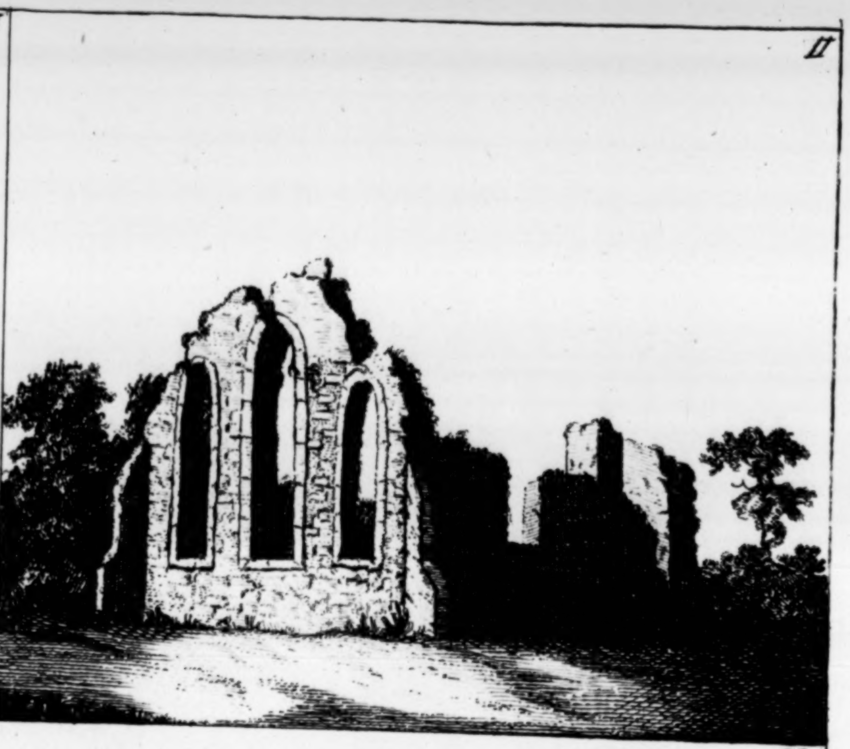

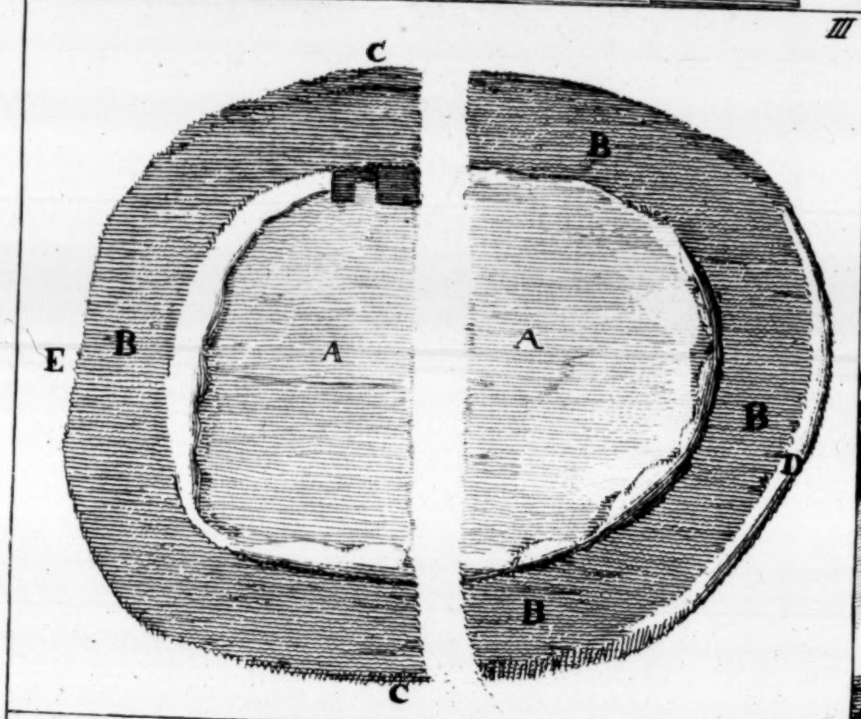
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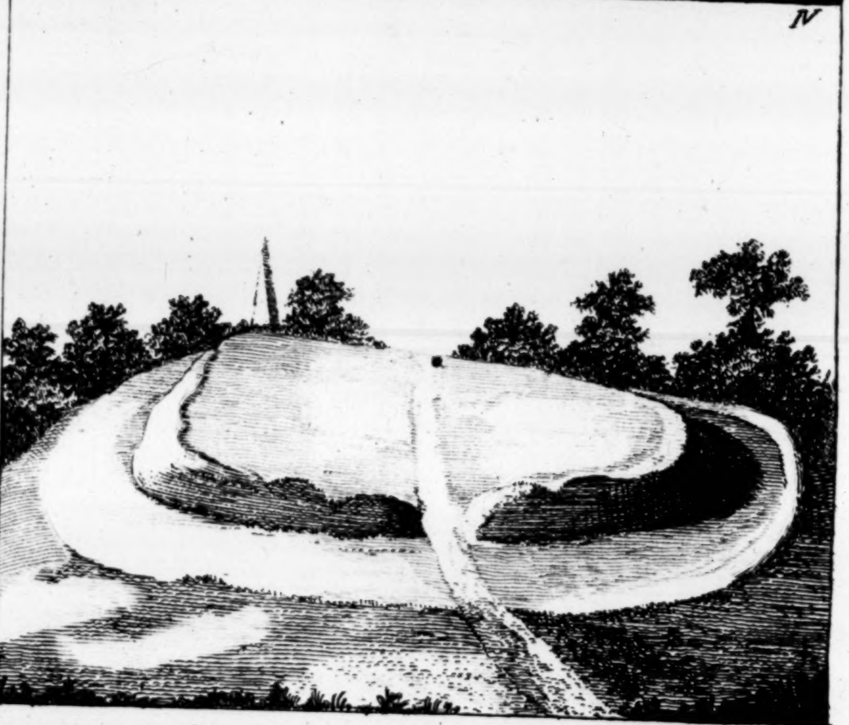
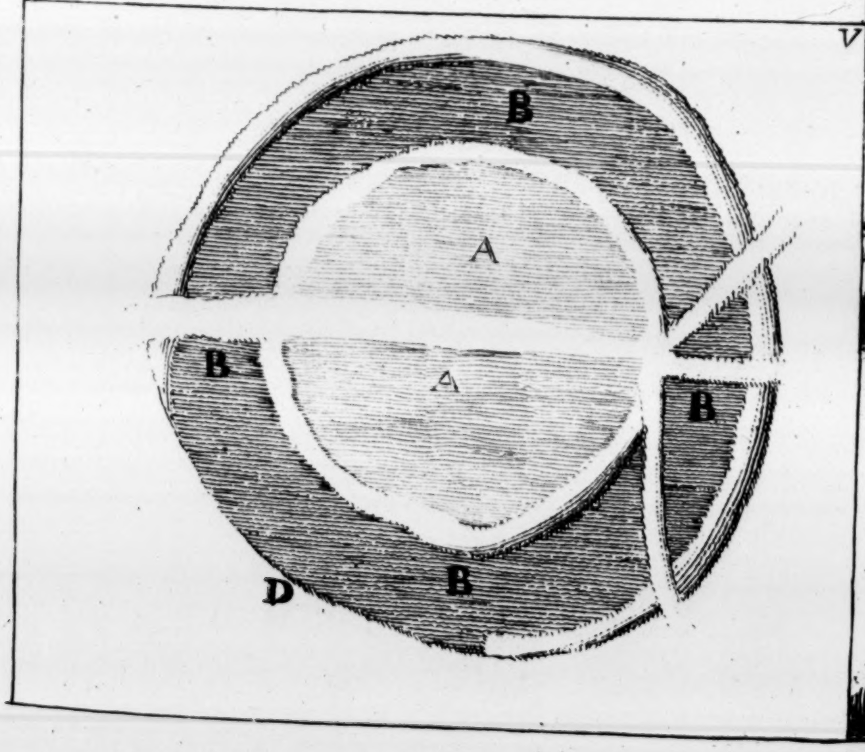
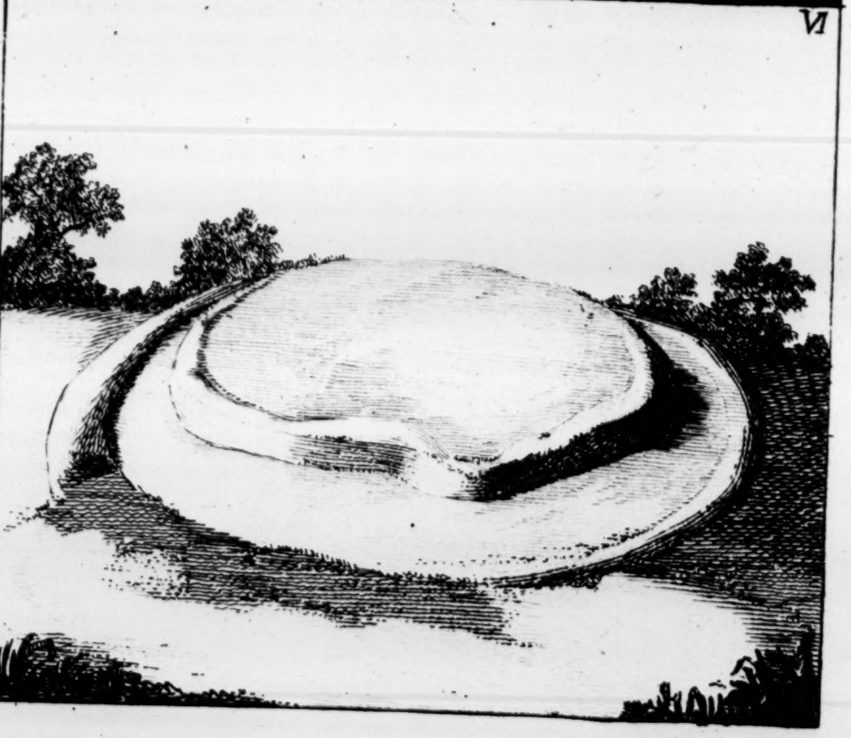
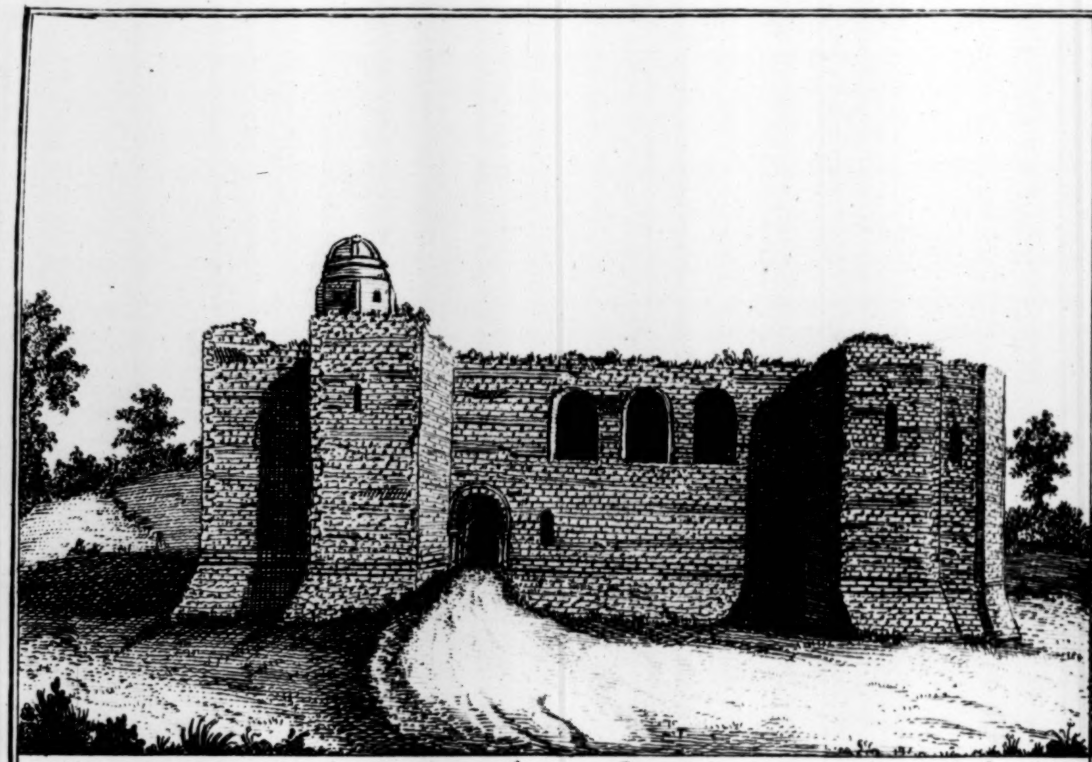


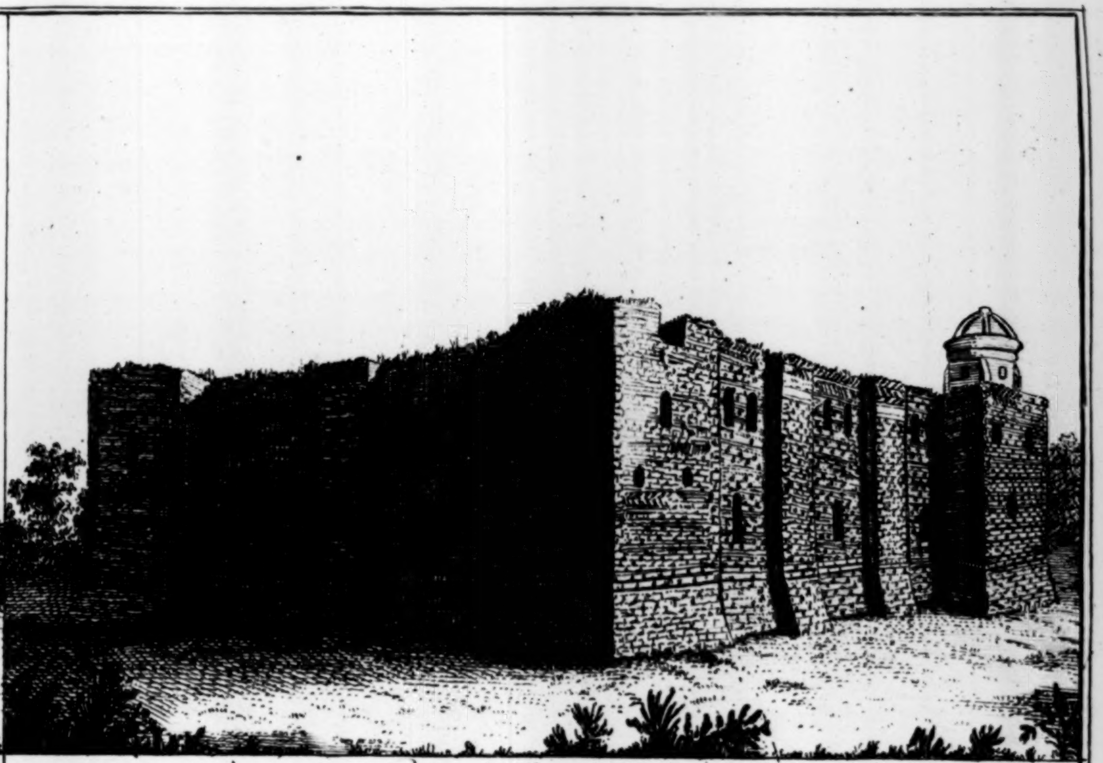




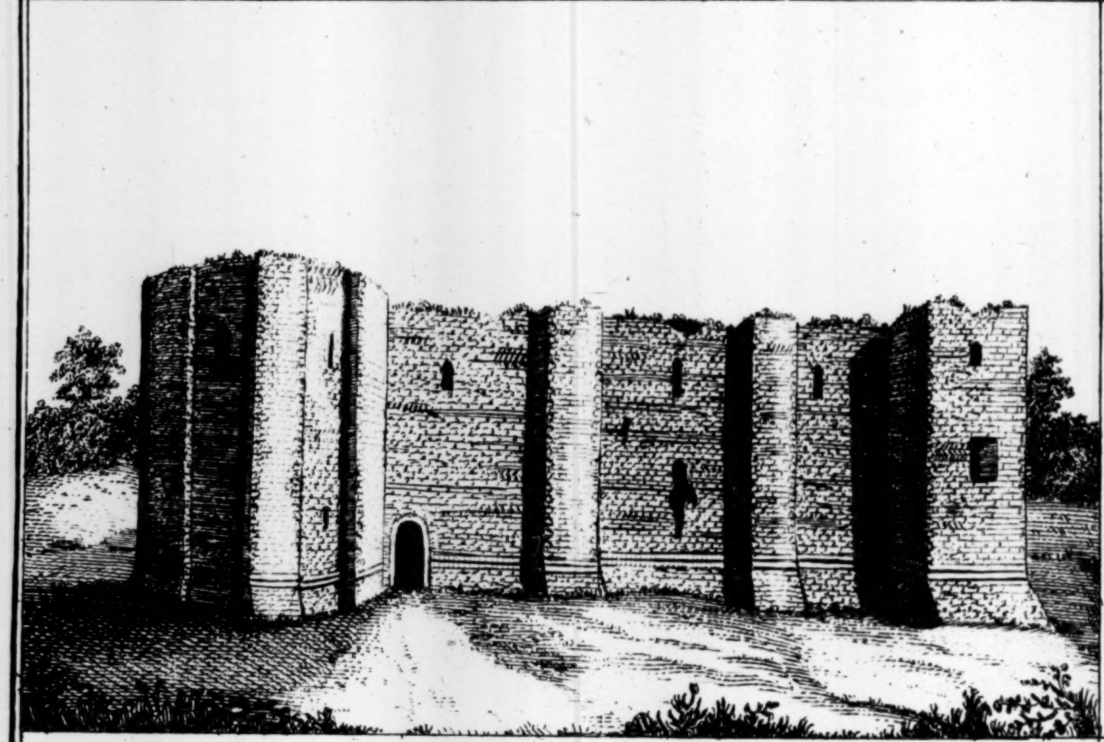
COLCHESTER CASTLE.



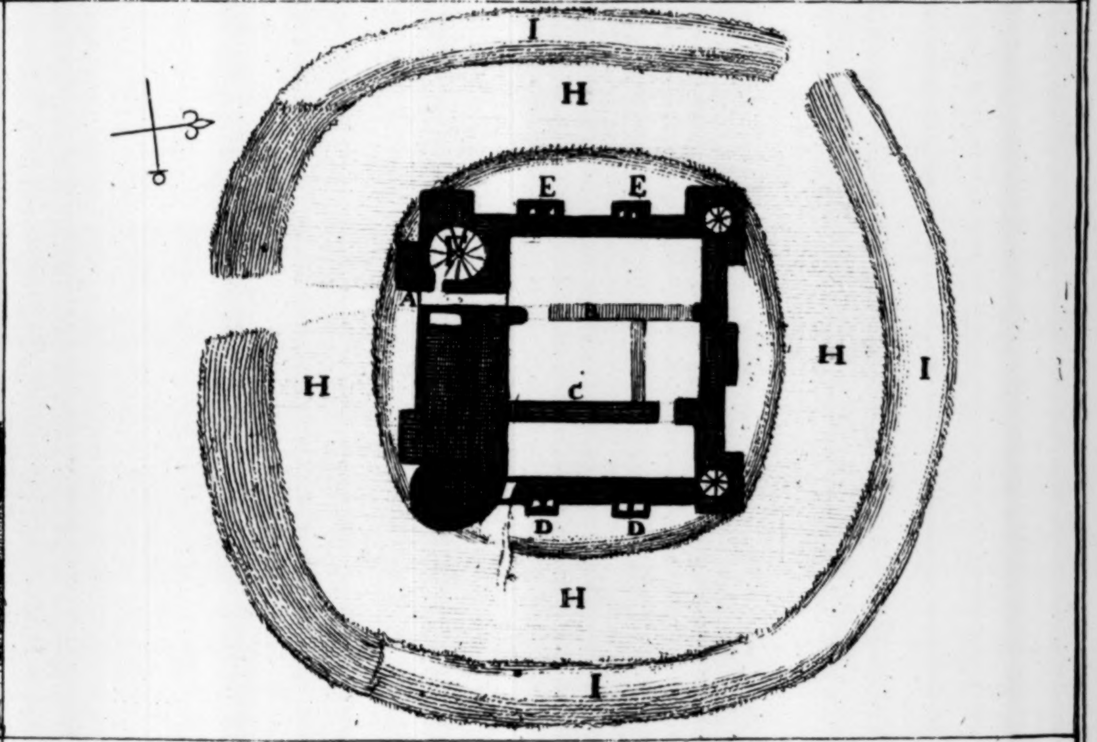
Principal Entrance of the Castle on the South.



North West View.



East View.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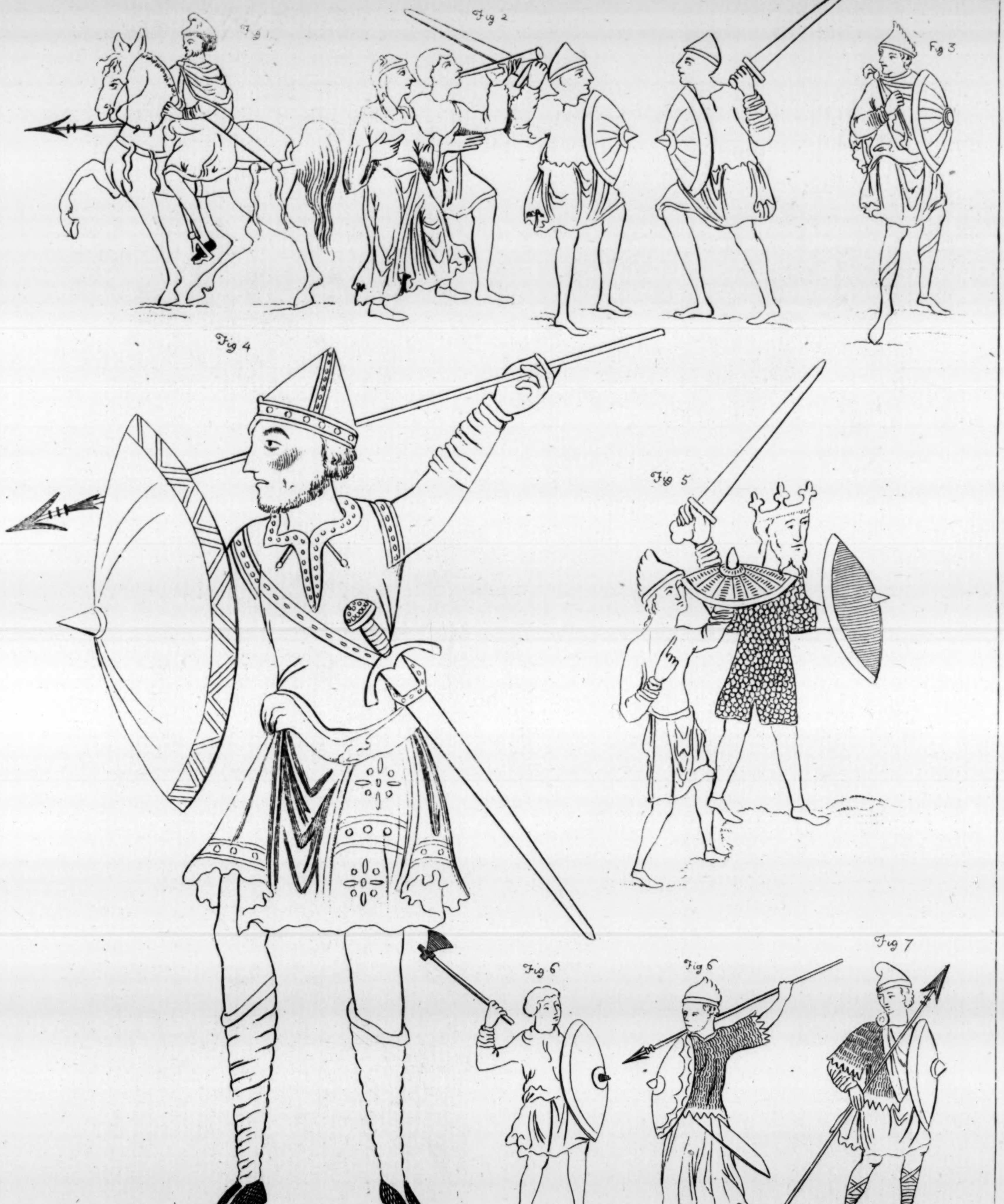
Ienography of the Castle.

PL. III.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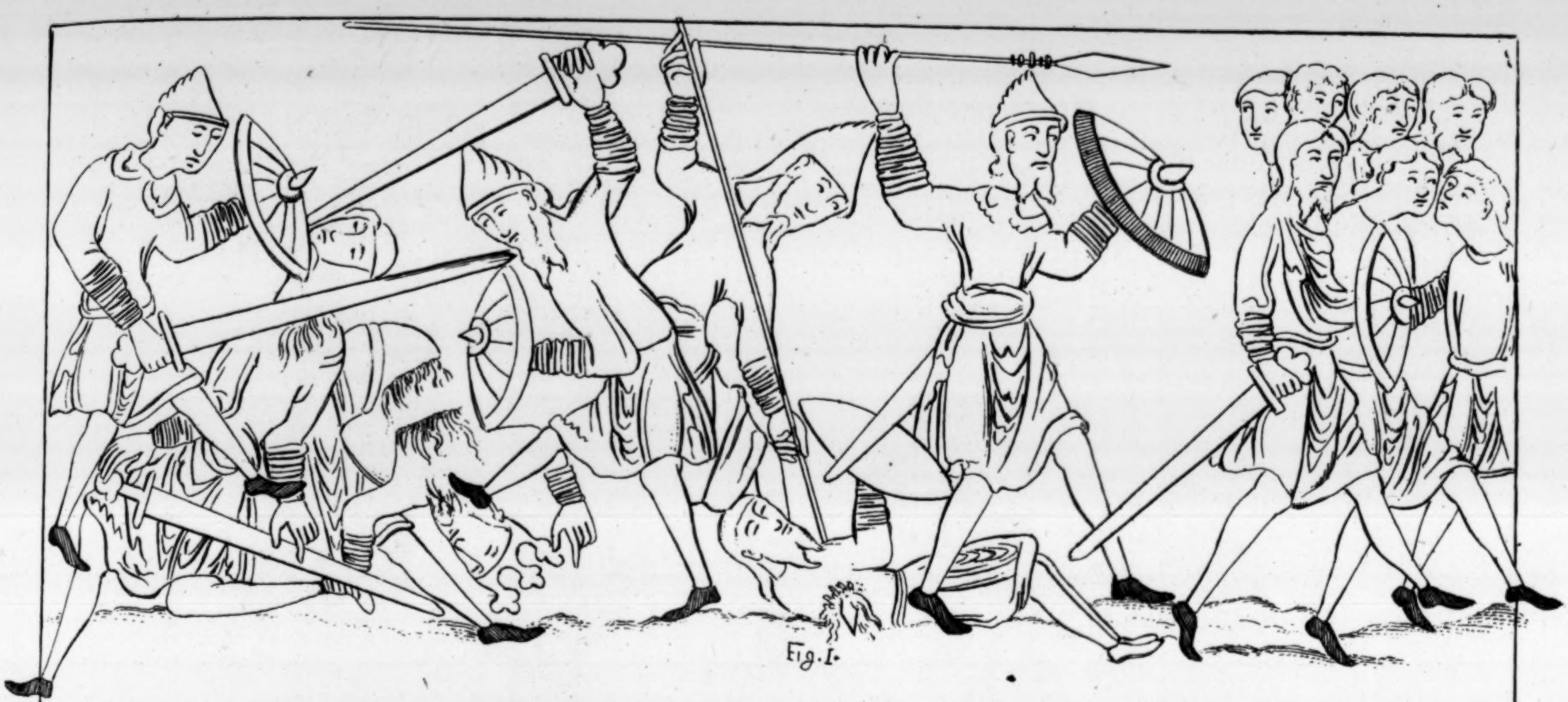

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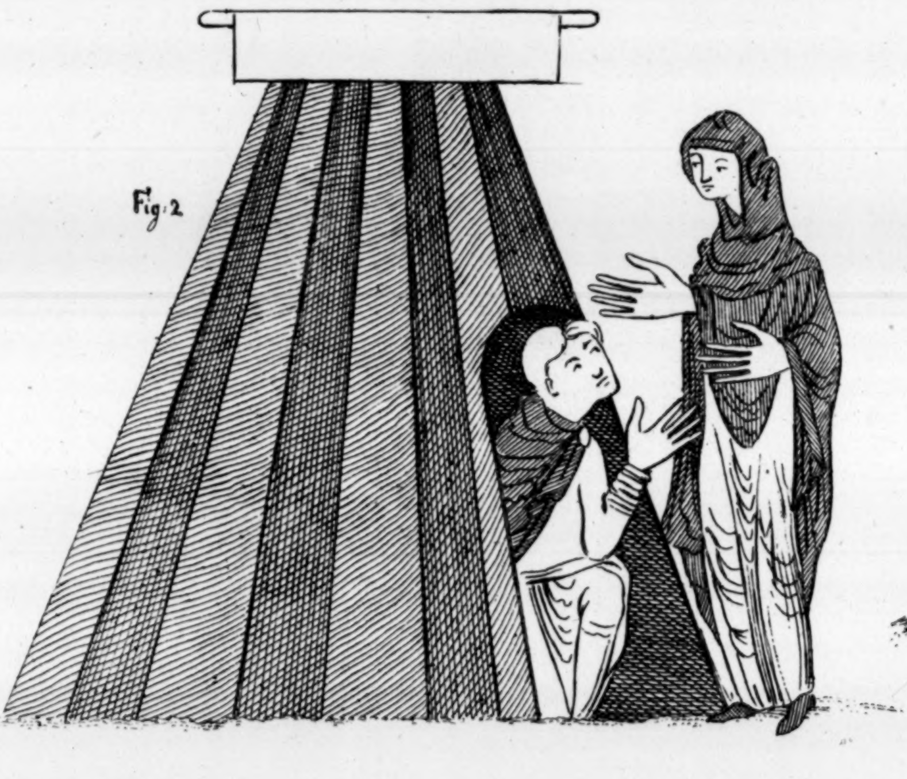


Fig 3

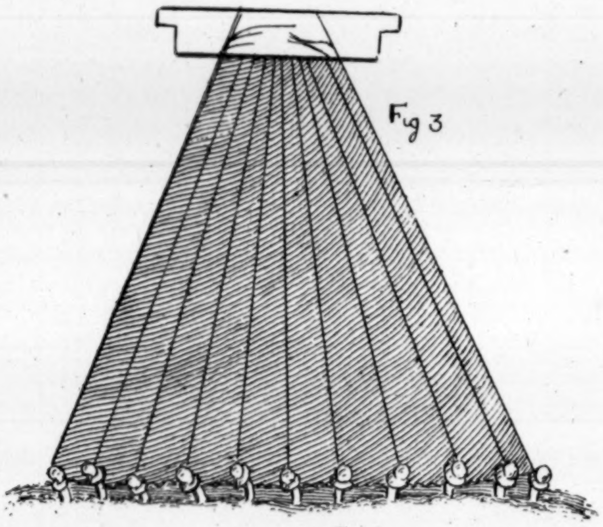


Fig. 4

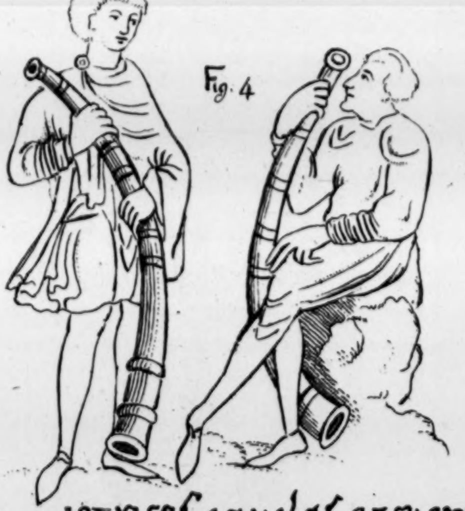


Fig 5

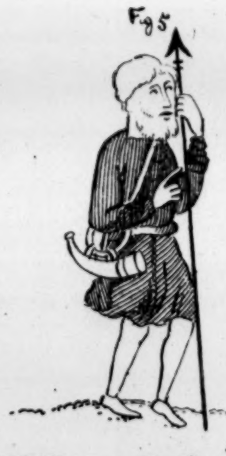
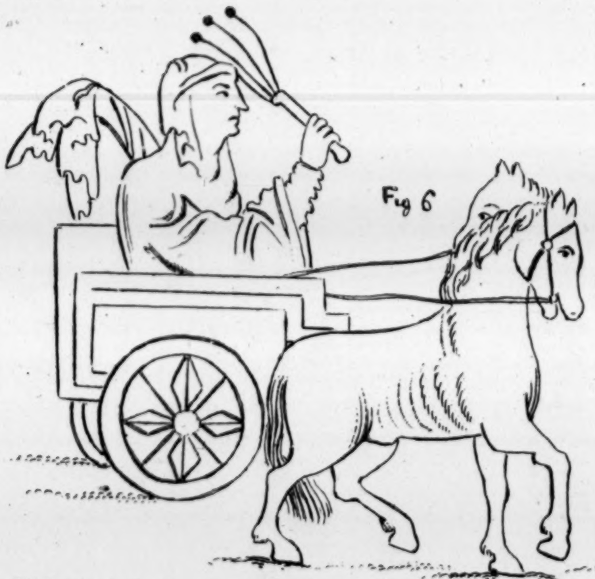
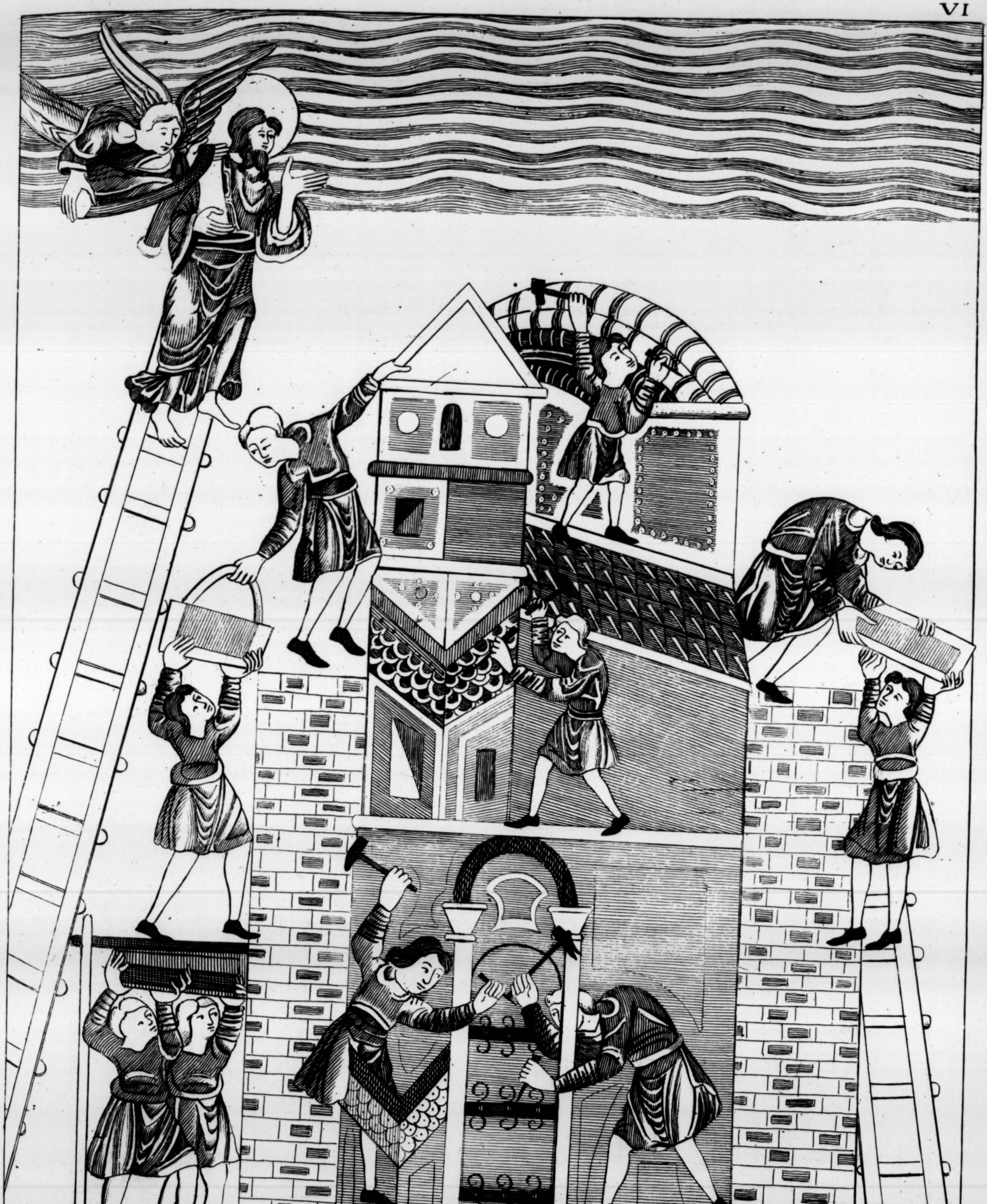


Fig 6



ictrices aquilas atq; intentoria cogi. þis is þ hlecðrigende. ex Cleopatra. C. viii



cẏninᵹ abimelech ⁊ hẏs ealdorman pichol, ex Claudius B.iv

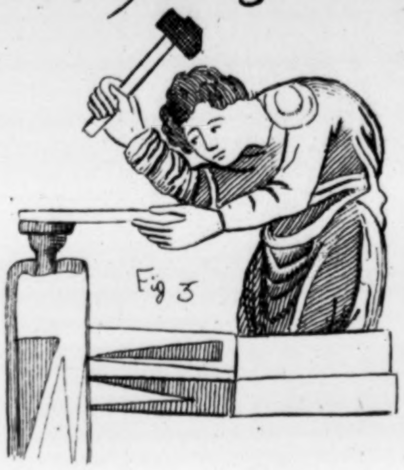


Fig 3

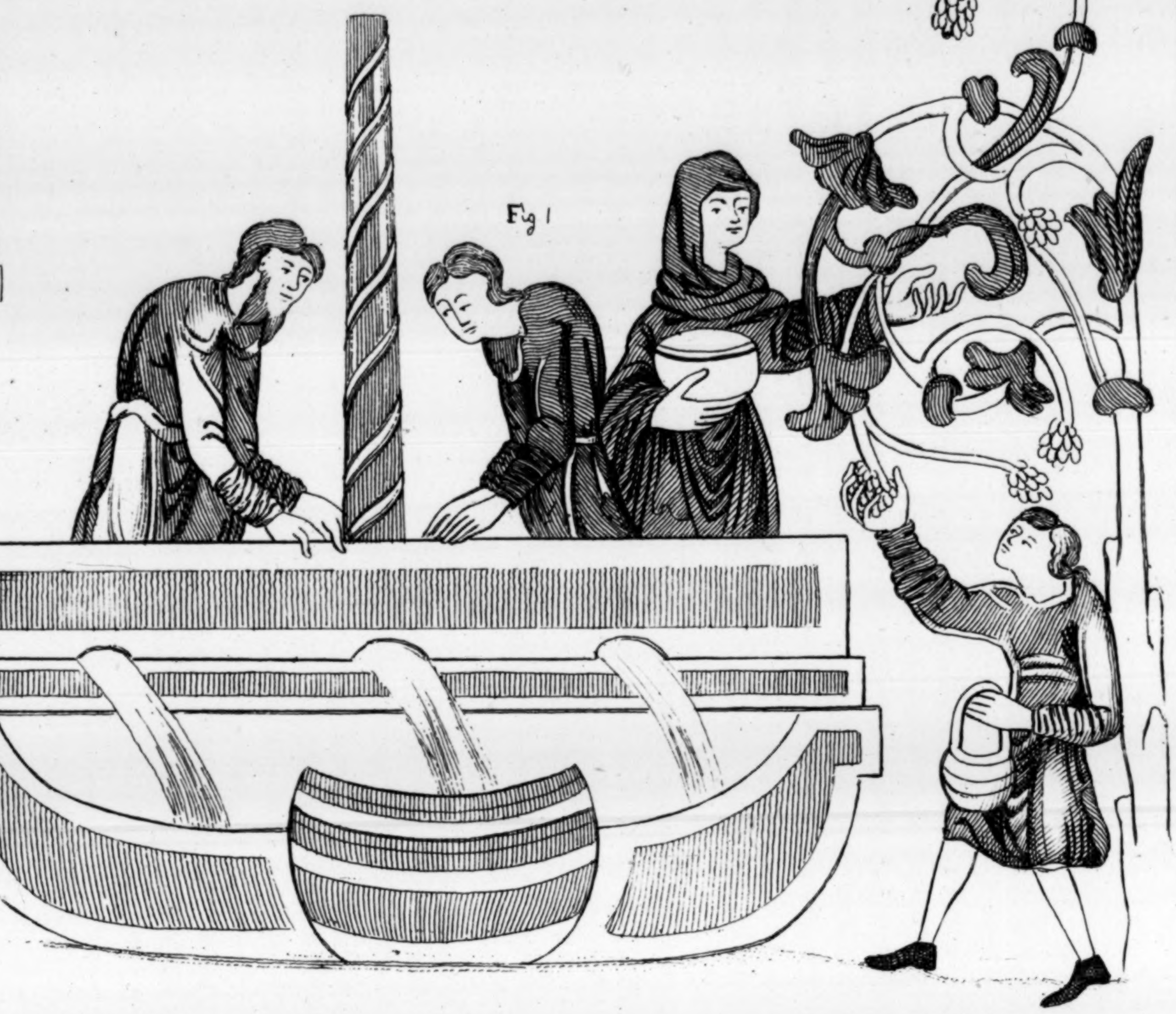


Fig 1

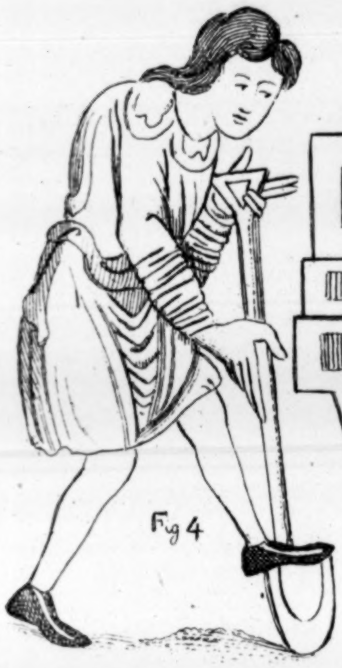


Fig 4

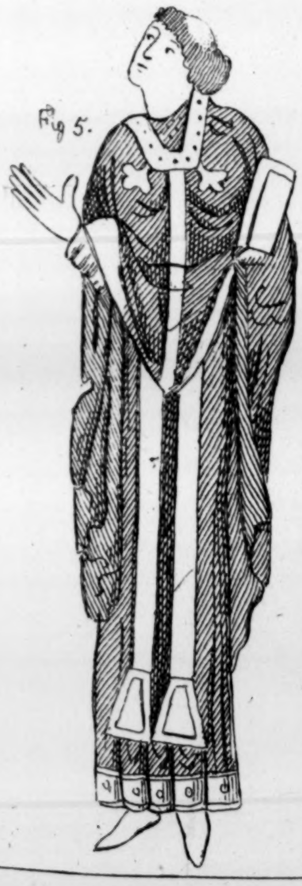


Fig 5.

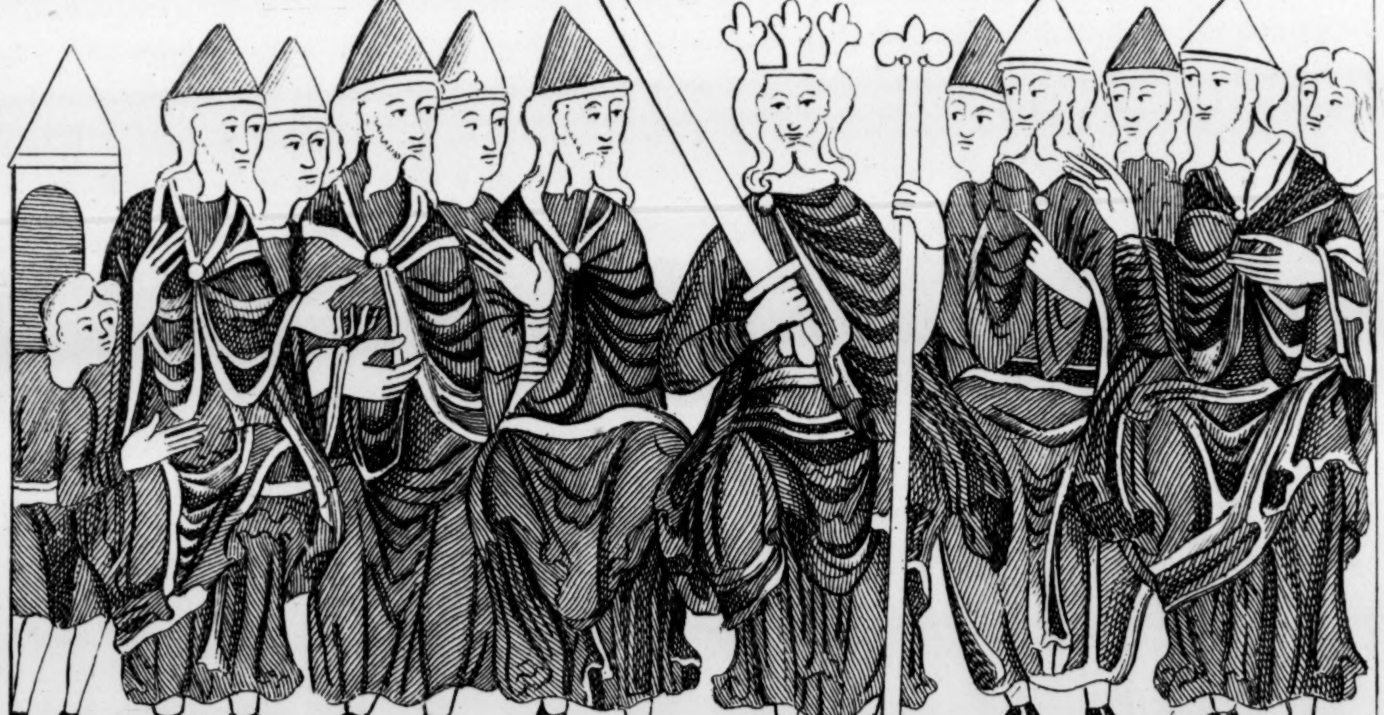


Fig: 2

VIII

Fig. 1

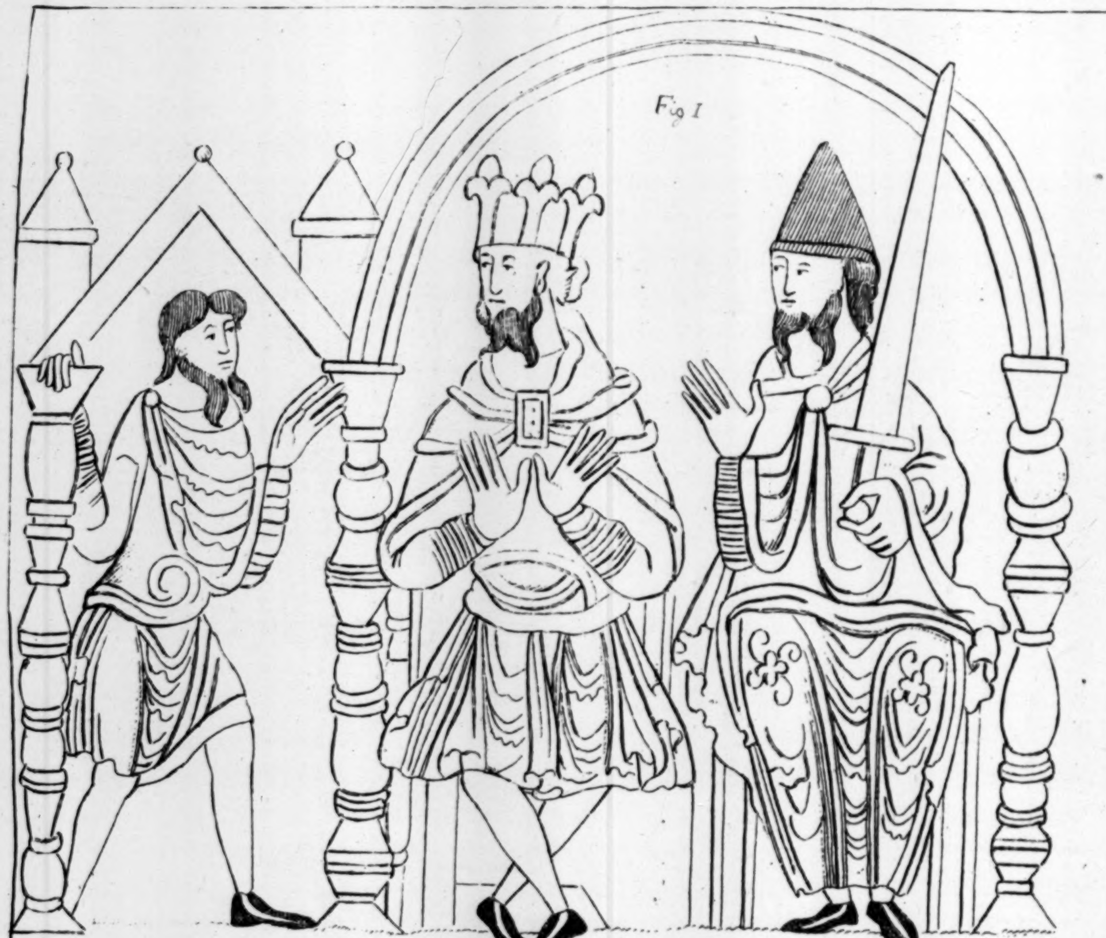


Fig. 2.

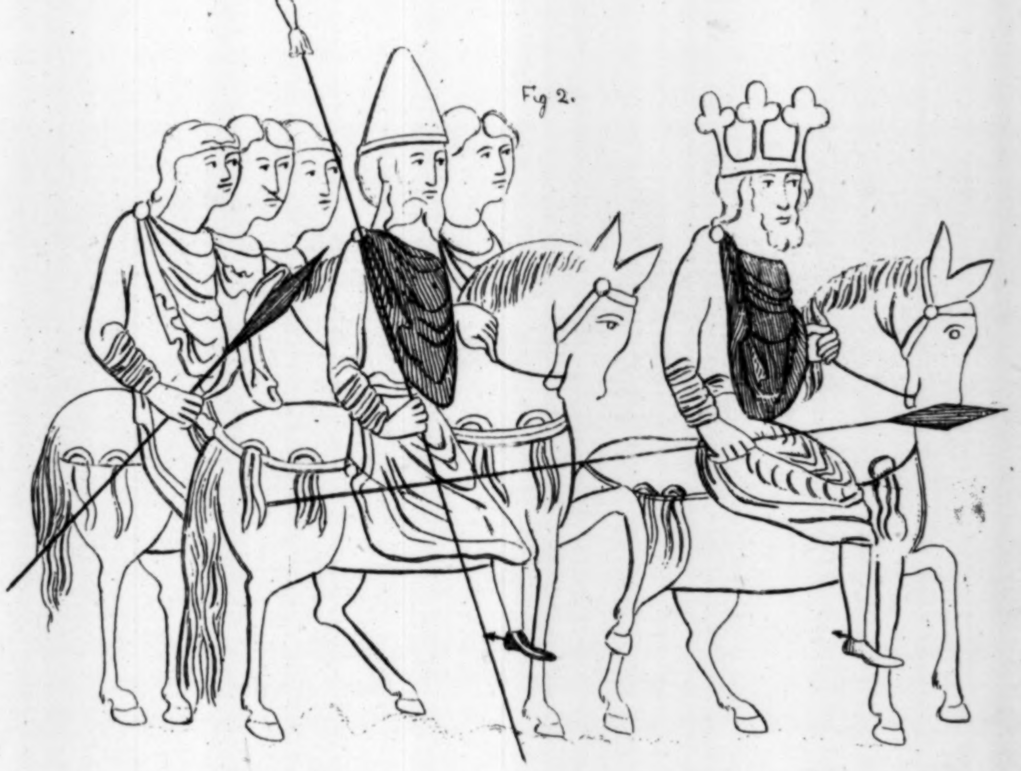


Fig. 3

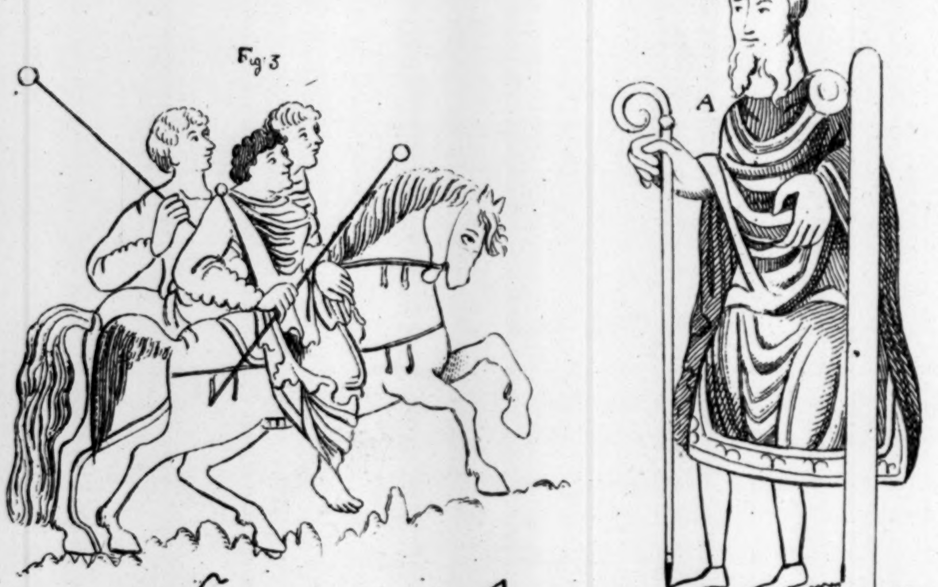
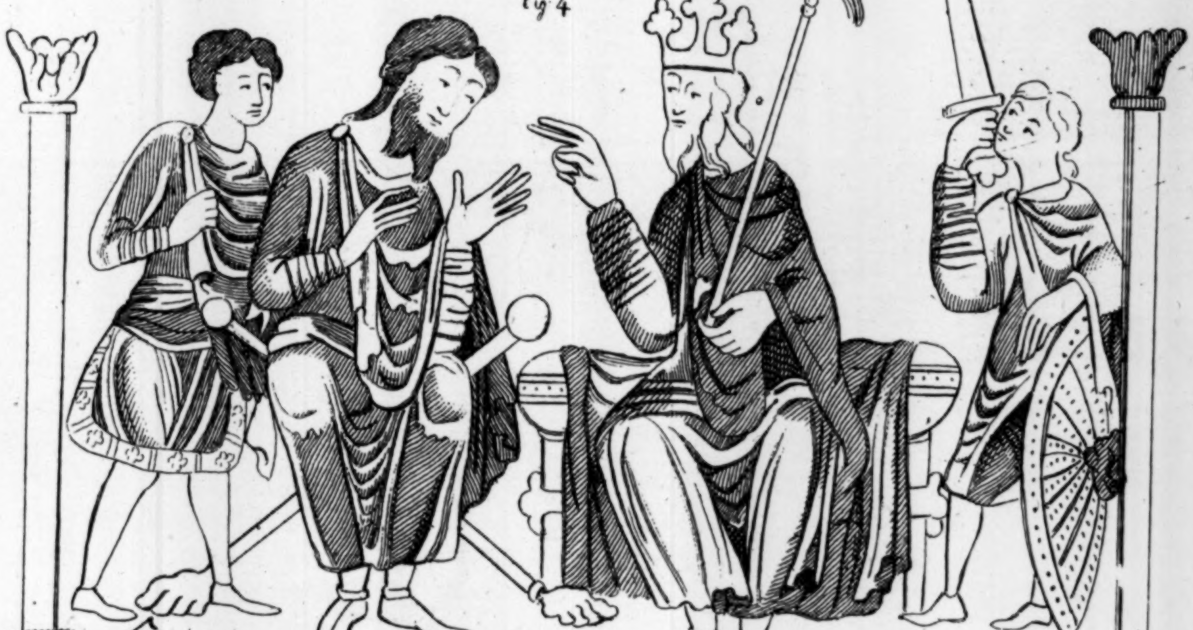
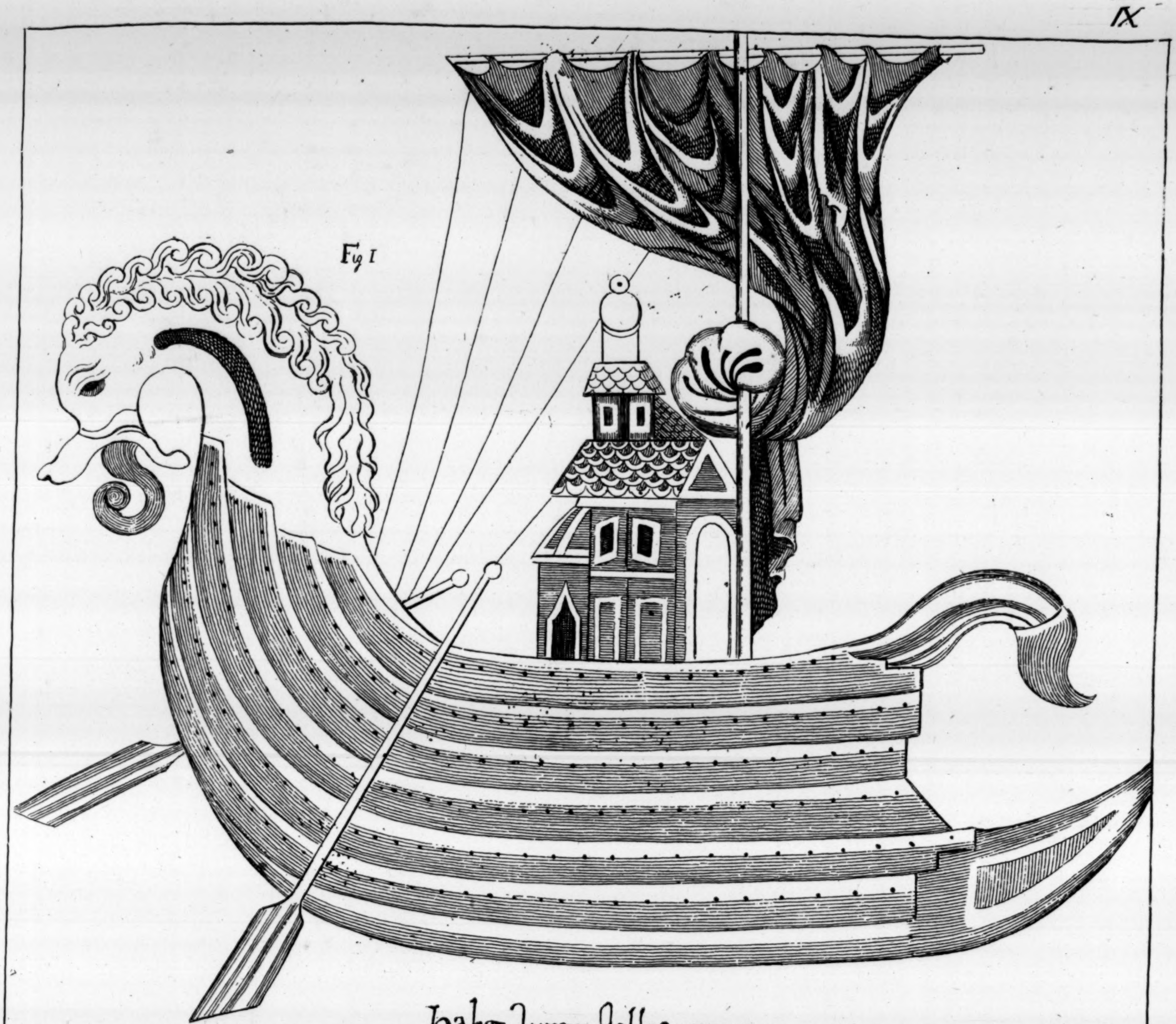


Fig. 4



lædde ioſep hyſ fæder into þā cyninge · ⁊ grette hine beforan. Ex Claud: B.iv.

Fig I



habet autem ſtellas in pupe;
On þam ƿynſtran dæle hæfþ ƿicer he ða deor ;

Ex Tiberius B.v.

Fig: 2

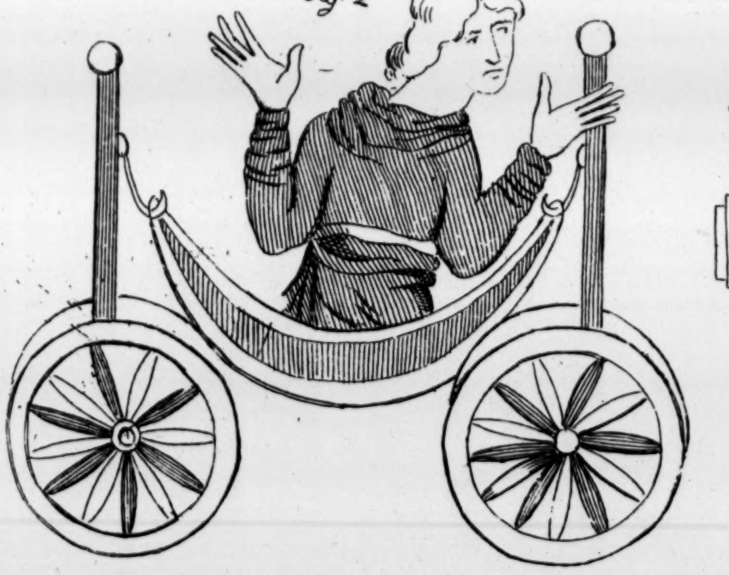
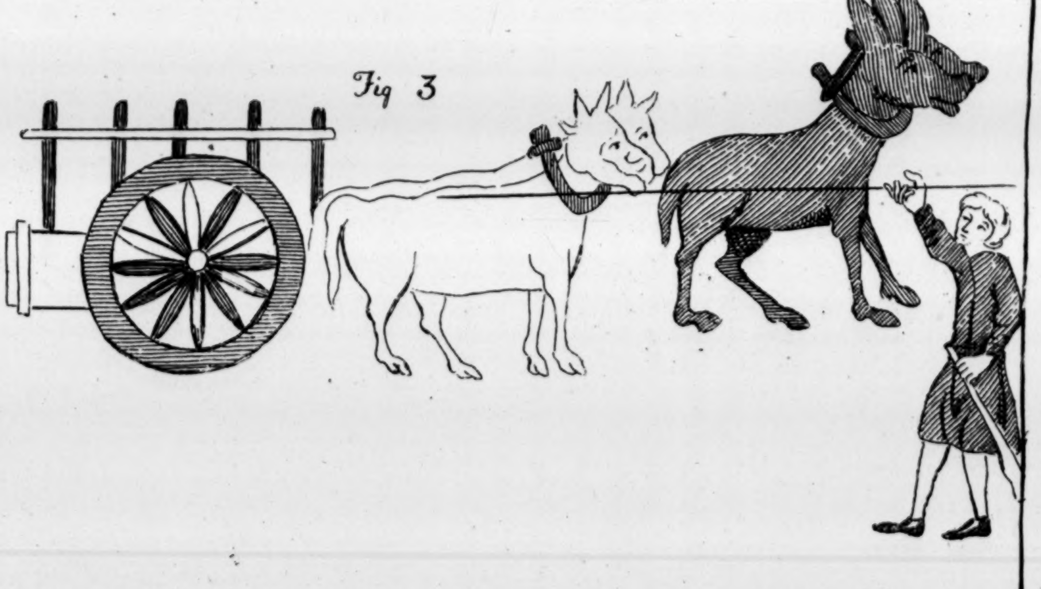
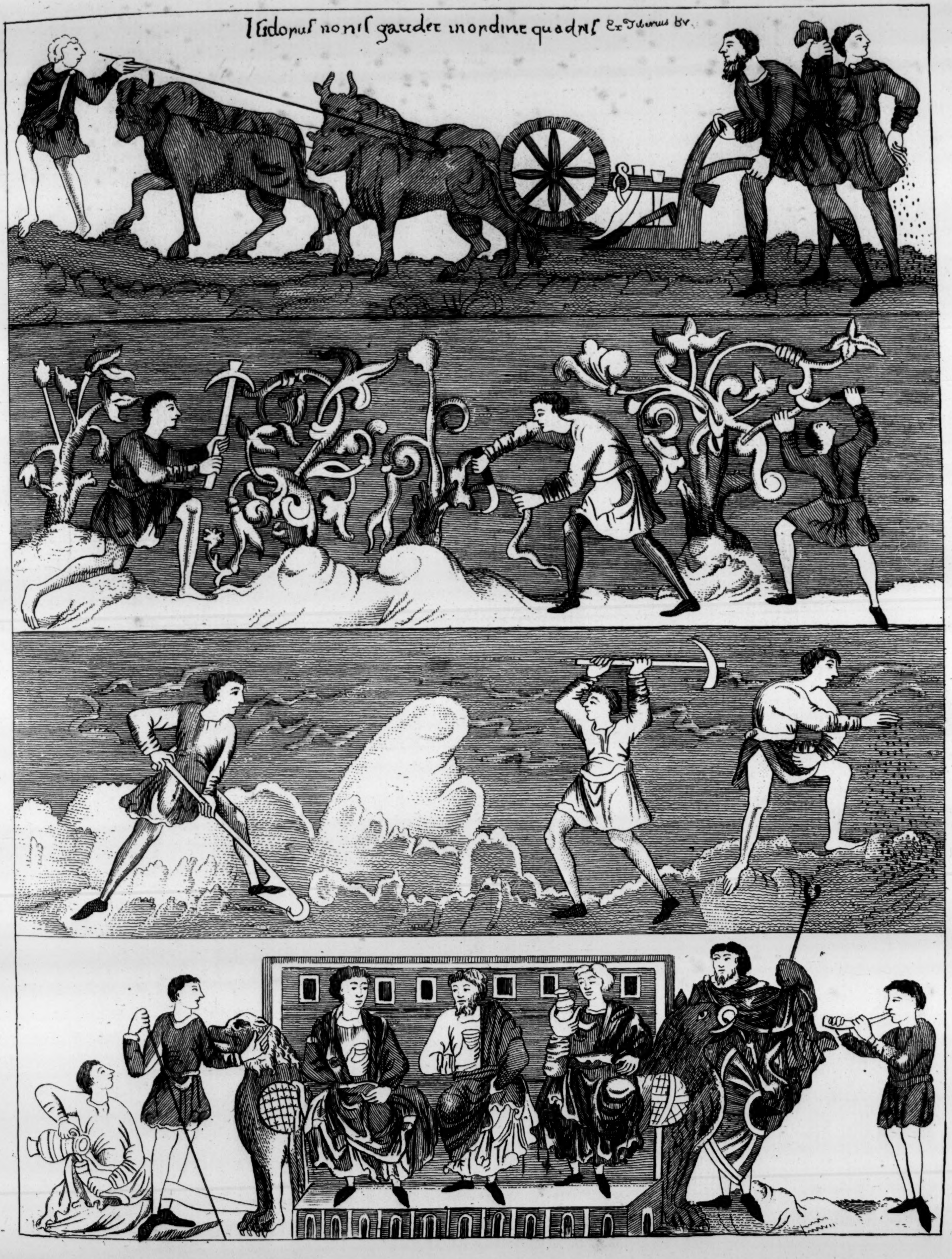
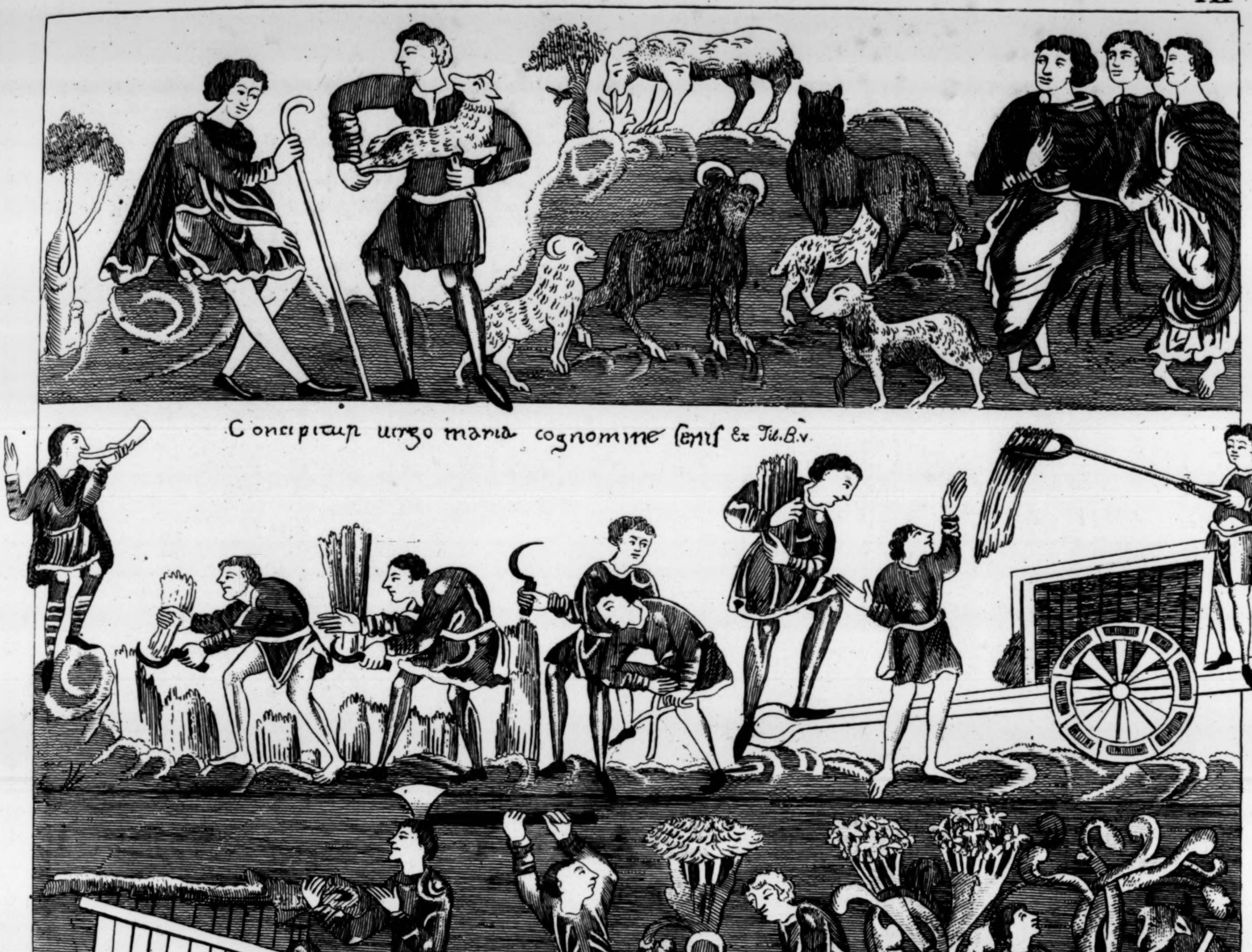


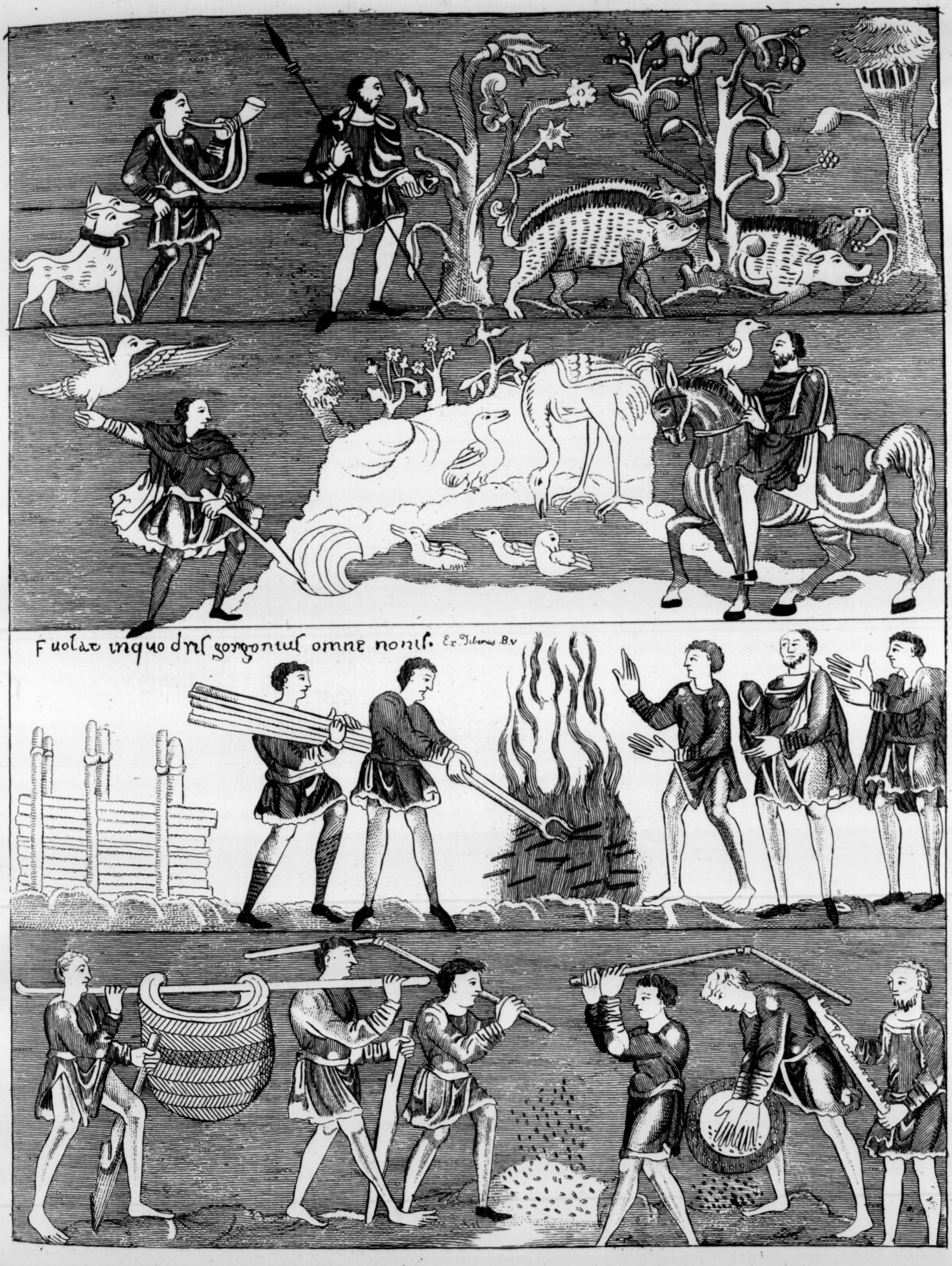
Fig 3



X


Iſidoruſ noniſ gaudet inordine quadriſ
Ex Tiberius B v.


Concipitur uirgo maria cognomine ſenis Ex Tib. B.v.


Fuolat inquo dnſ gorgoniuſ omne noniſ.

Ex Tiberius B.V

Fig 5

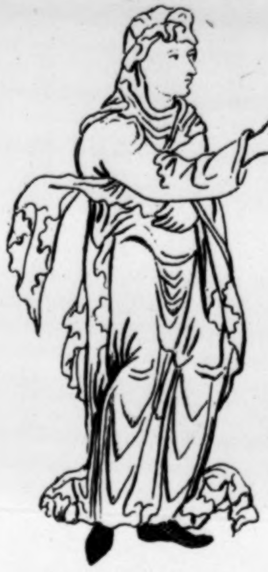


Fig 4

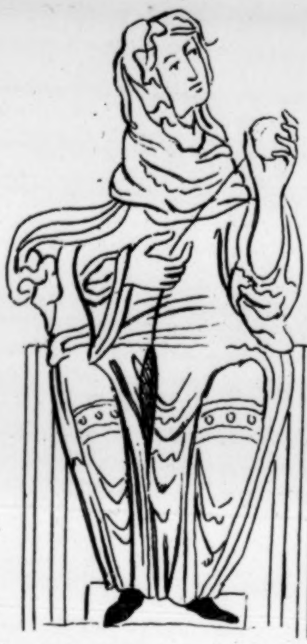


Fig I

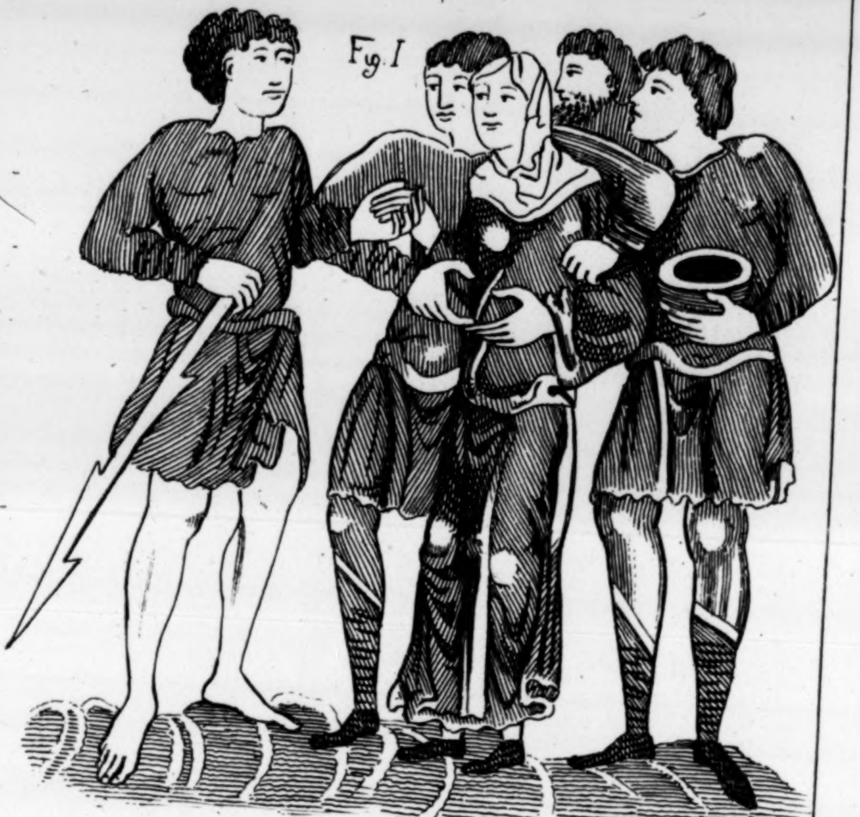


Fig 6

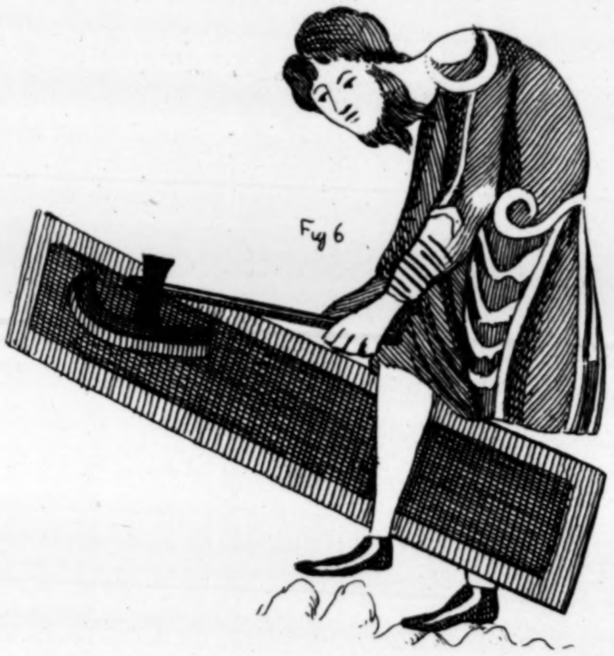


Fig. 2.

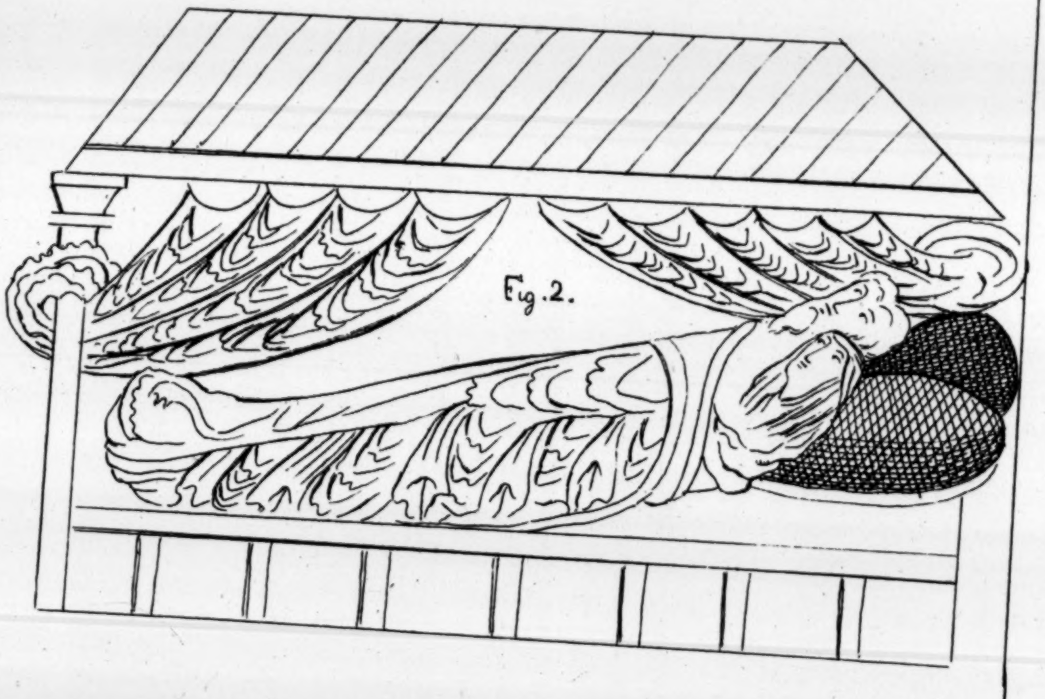


Fig: 9

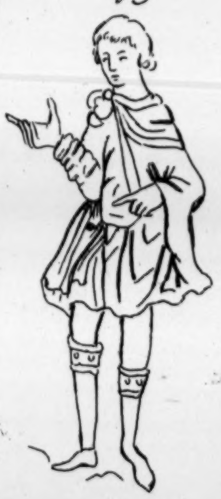
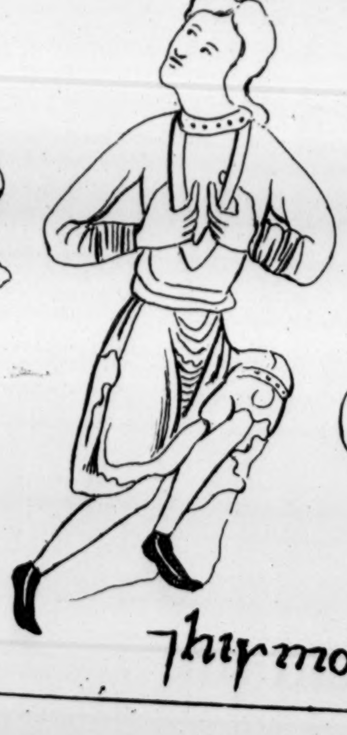


Fig 8



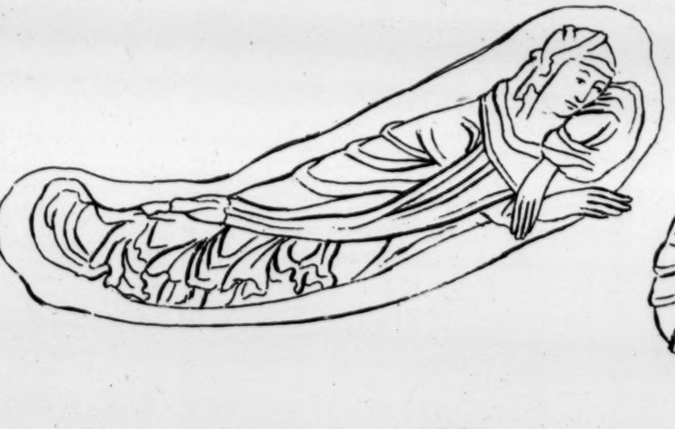
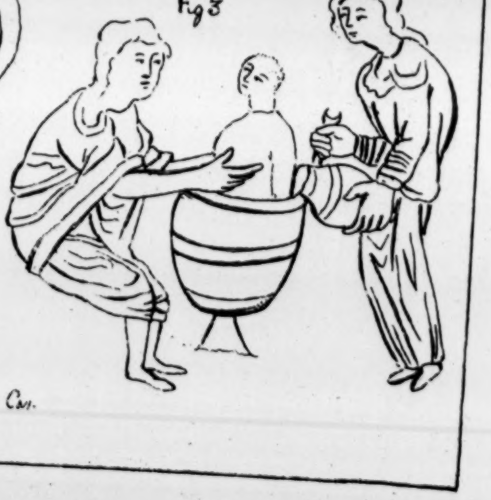
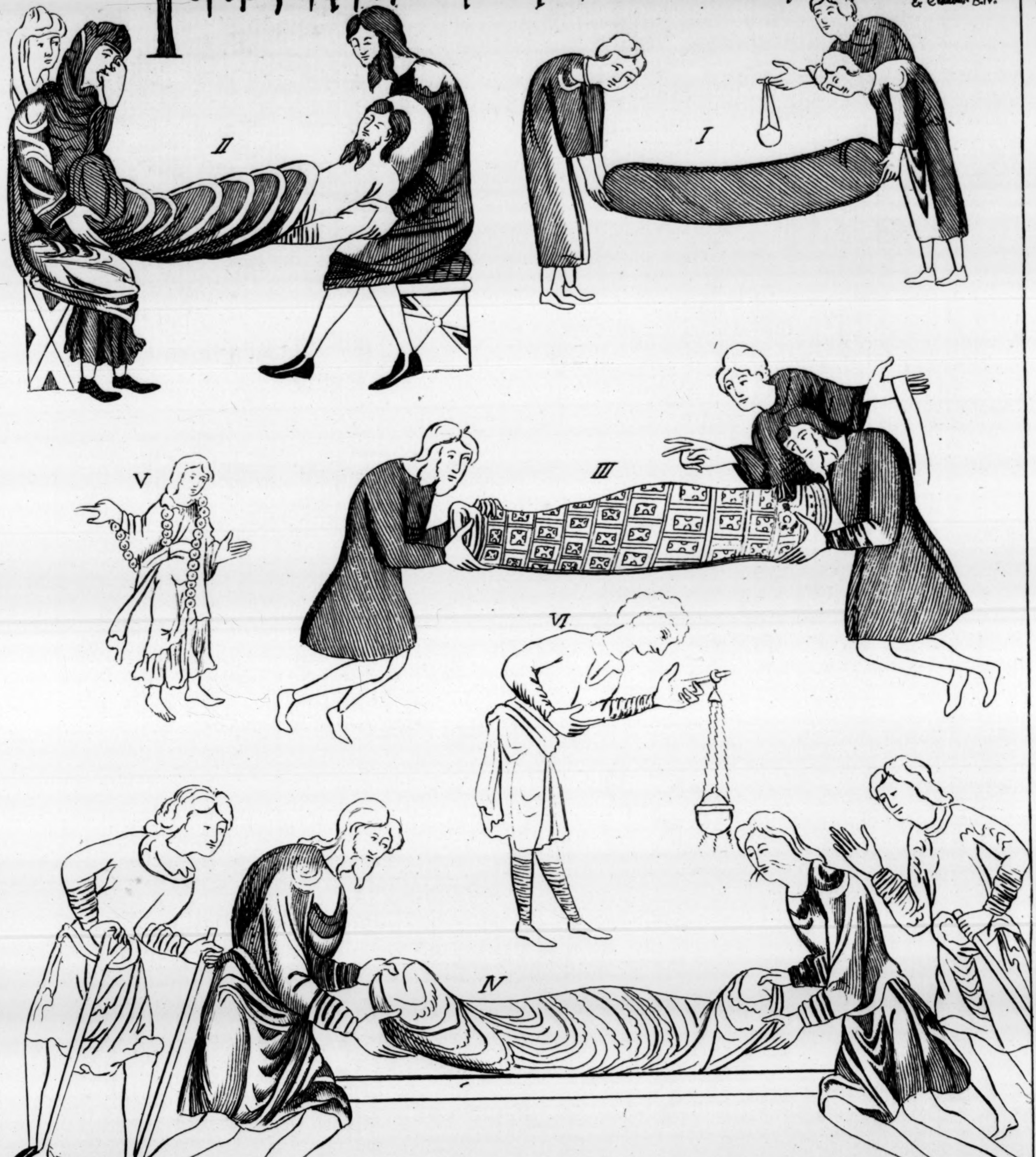


Fig 3



⁊ hiſ modeſ geornfulnyſſe, Ex Tiberius C vi.

Iosep forþferde þa he wæs an hund wintra ⁊ an wintre. Ex Claudius B.IV.



Enos ealdor dema wearð ⁊ wisa. Ex Junius .xi. apud Bib: Bod: Oxon:

ðacƿæð heo ðinne hring ⁊ ðinne beah. ⁊ þinne stæf,

Ex Claudius B.iv

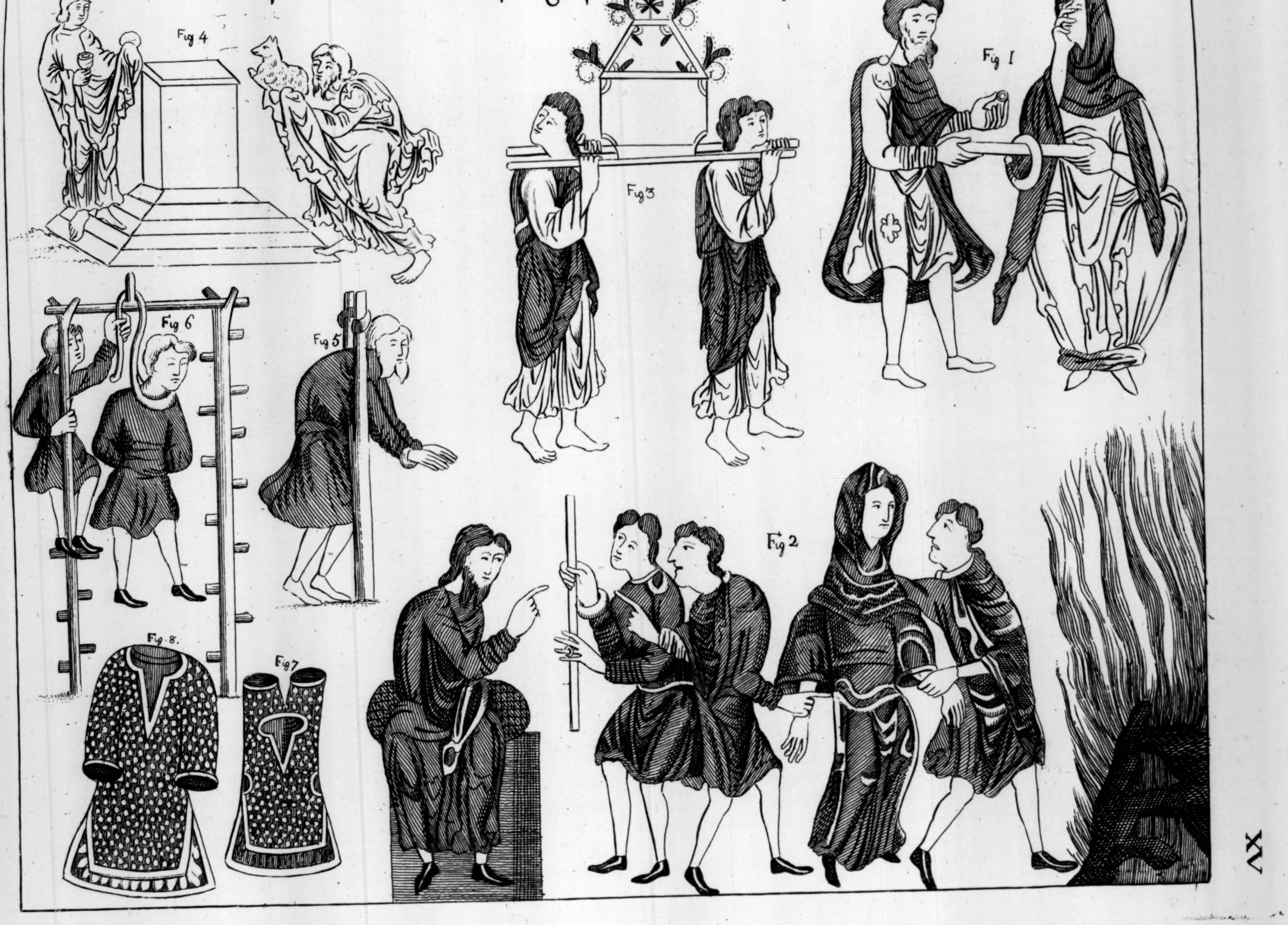


Fig 4
Fig 3
Fig 1
Fig 6
Fig 5
Fig 2
Fig 8.
Fig 7

XV

XVI

Fig 2

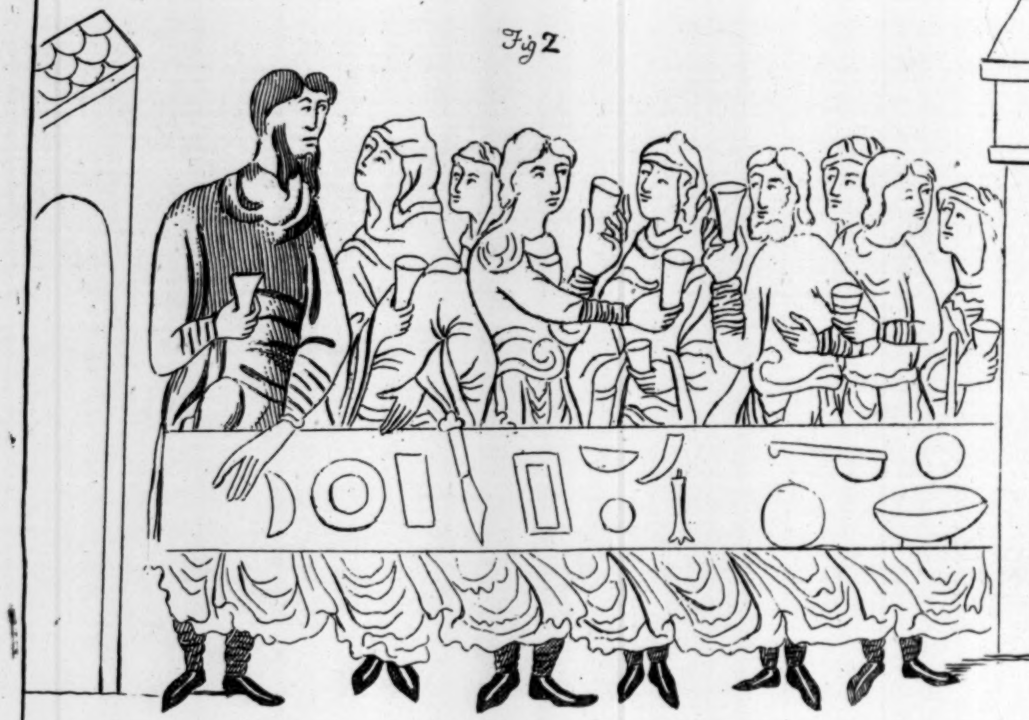


Fig. 1

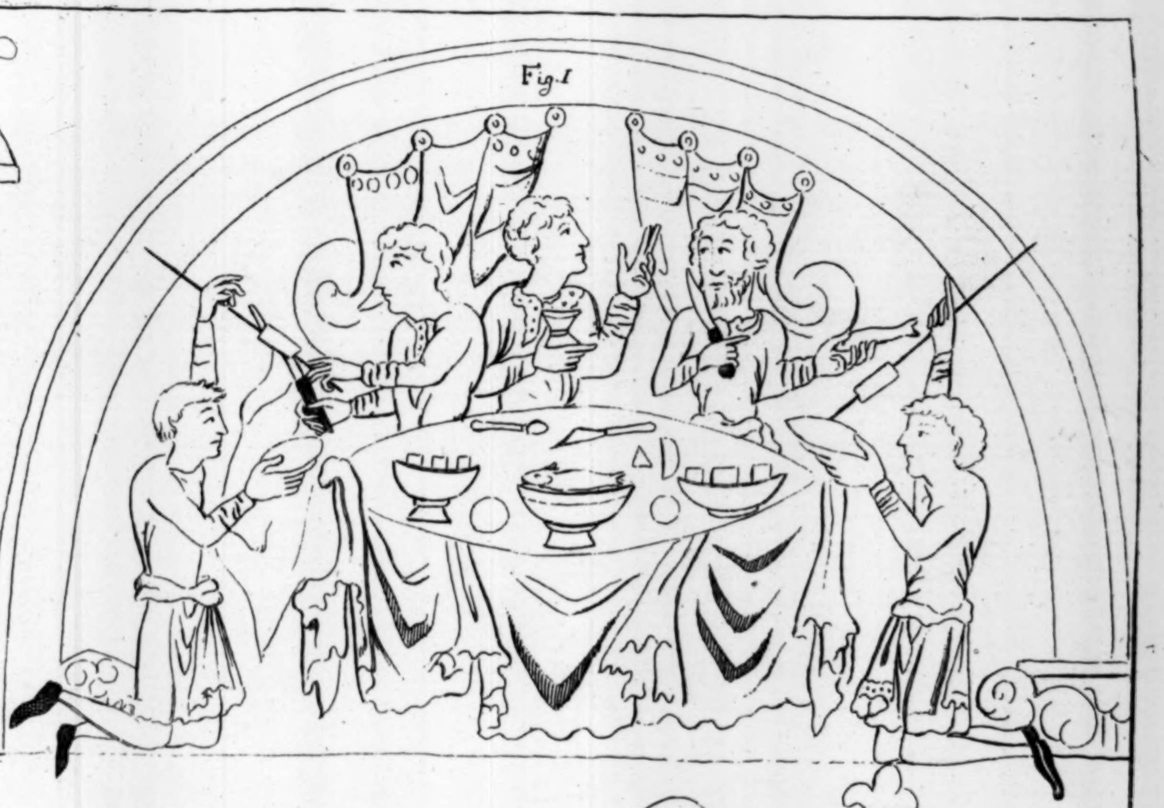
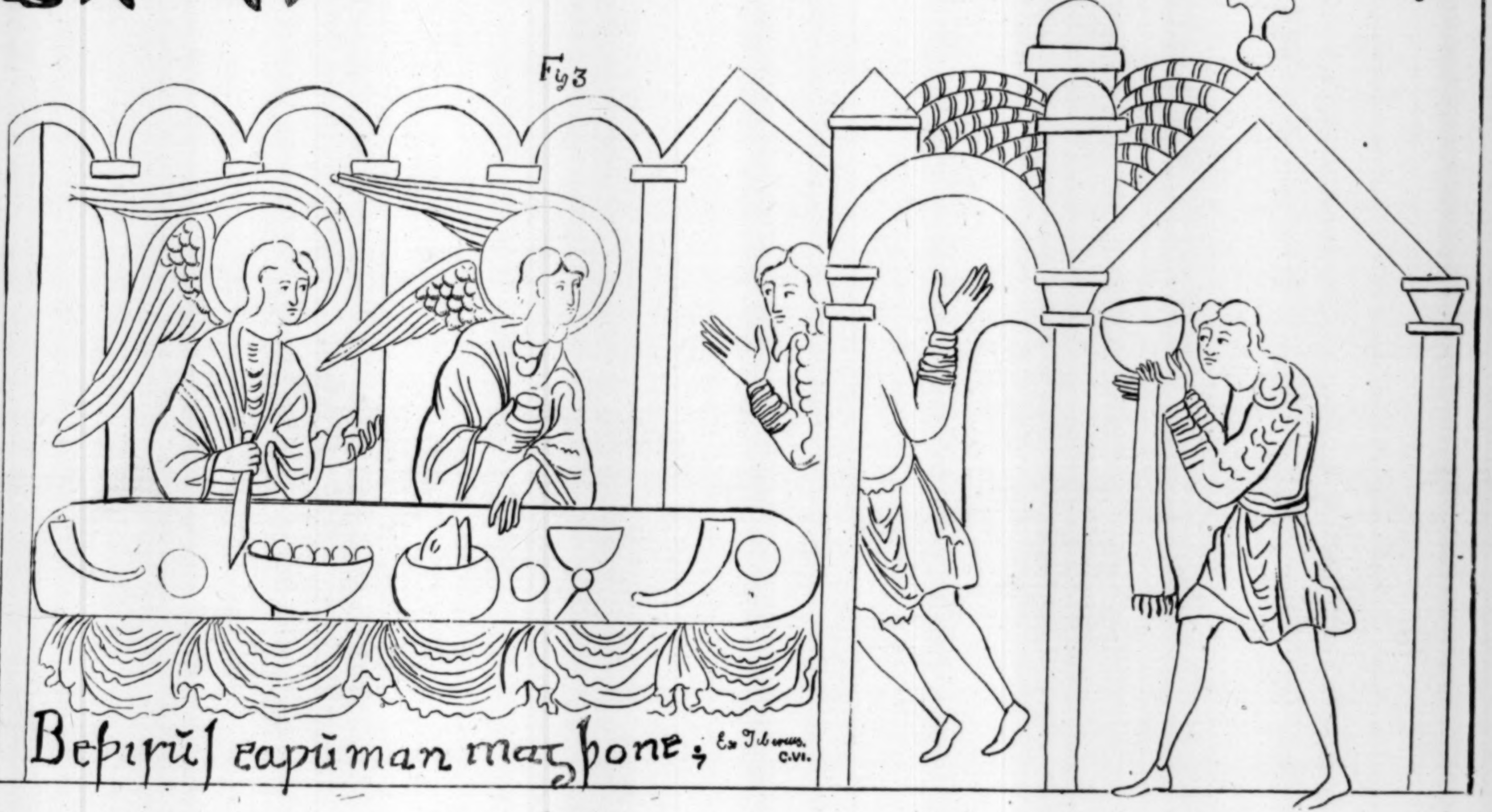


Fig 3


Beþirũſ eapũman maȝþone ;

Ex Tiberius. C.VI.

Fig 4

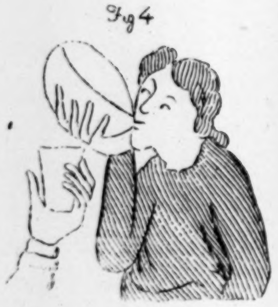


Fig 5

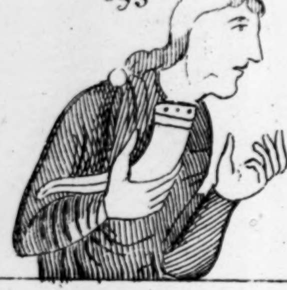


Fig 2

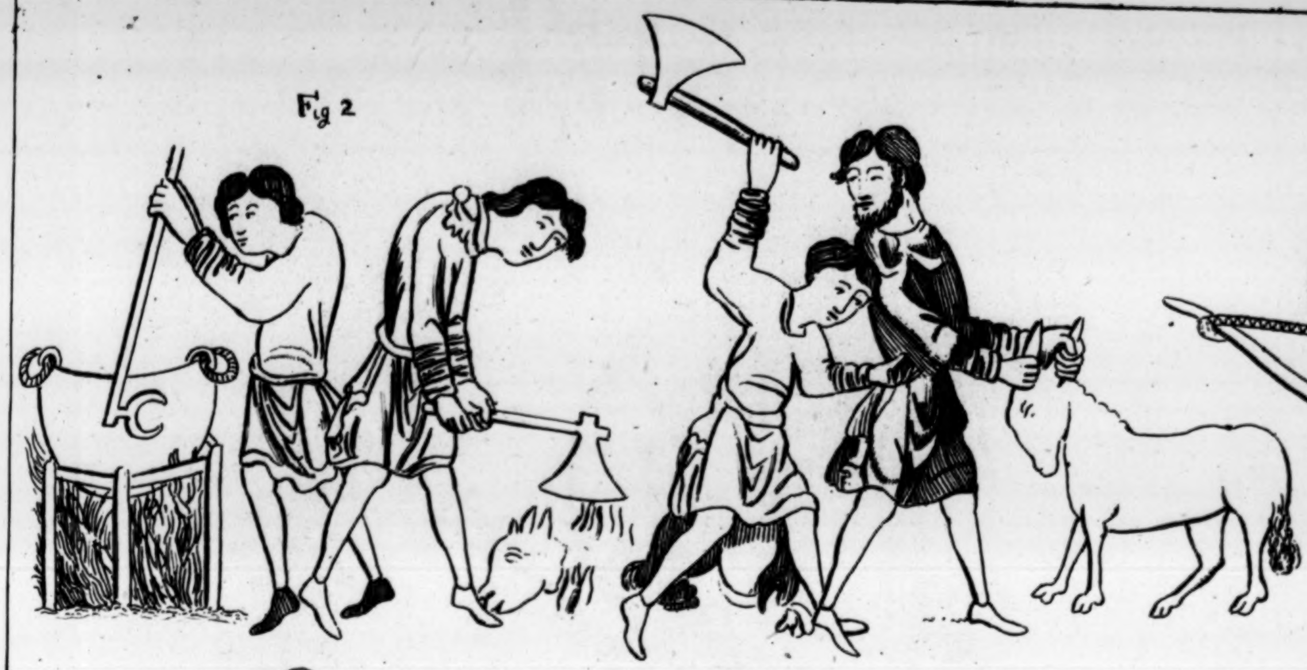


Fig 1

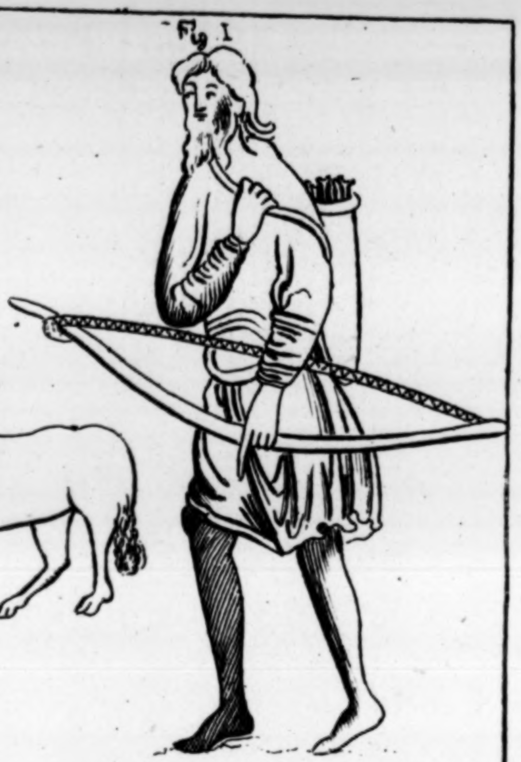


Fig 5

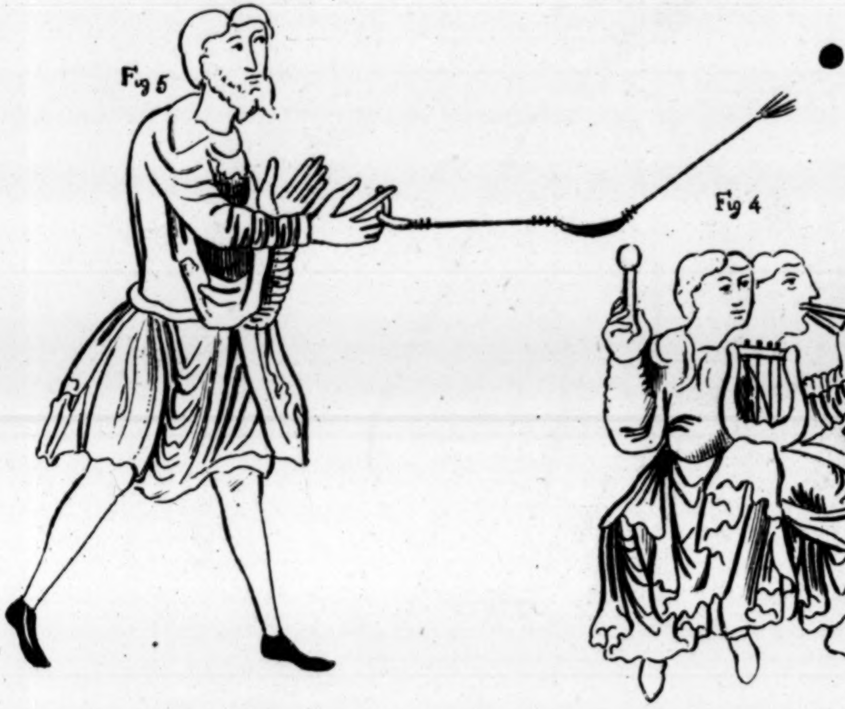


Fig 4

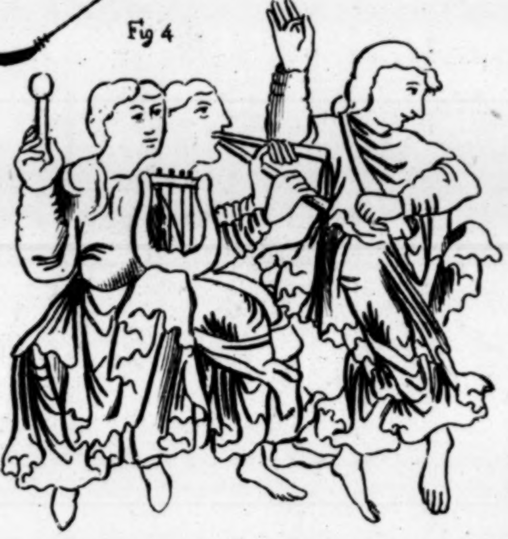


Fig 3

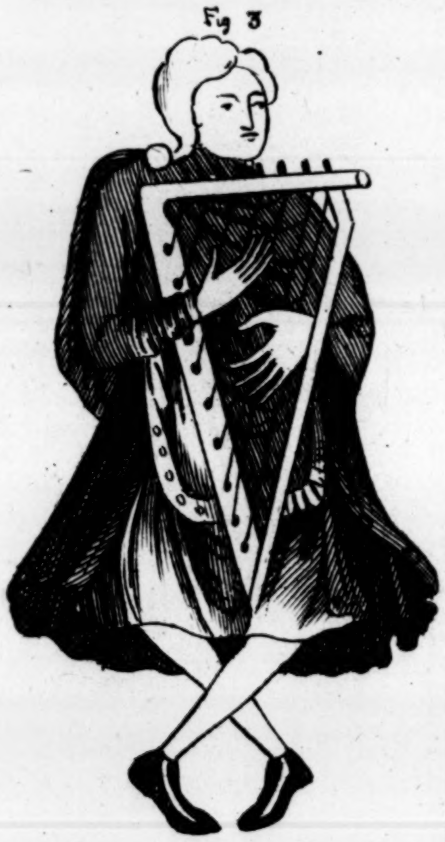


Fig 8

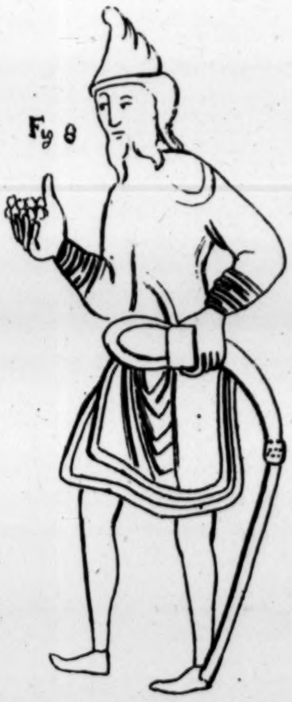


Fig 7

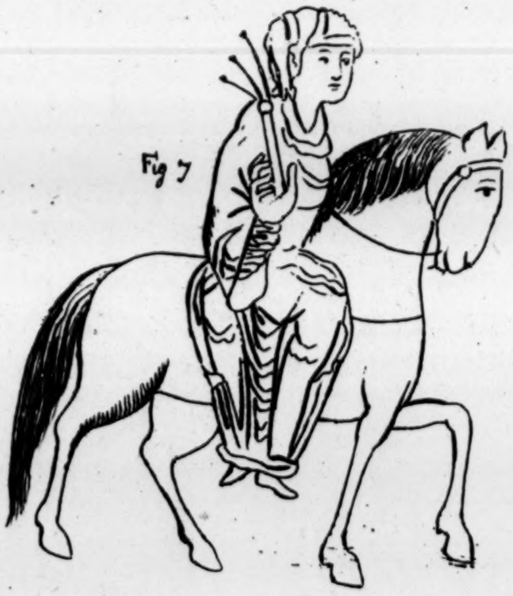
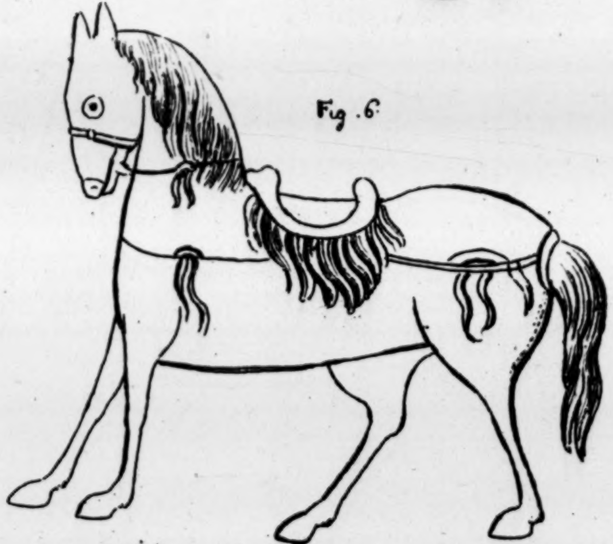
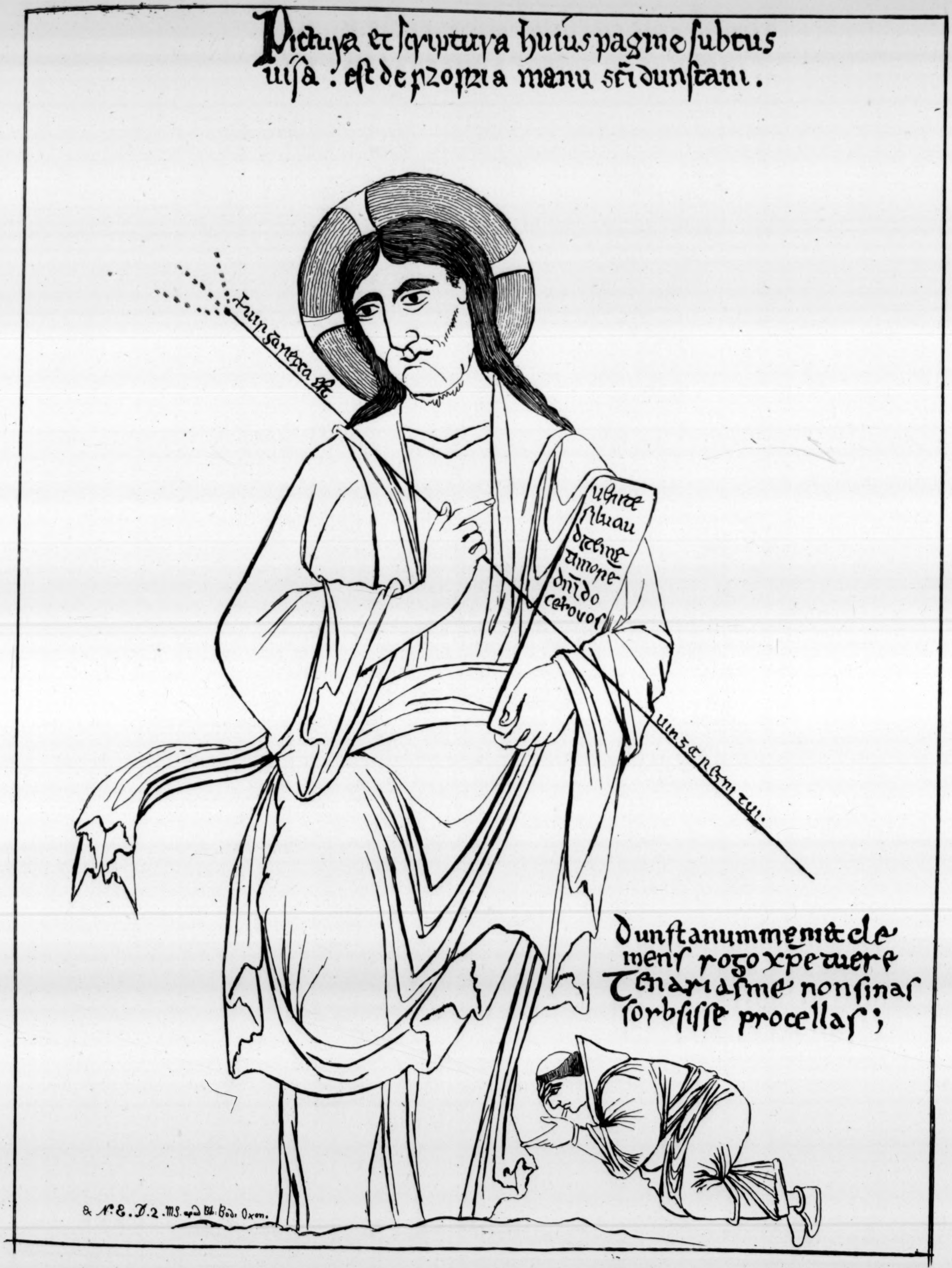


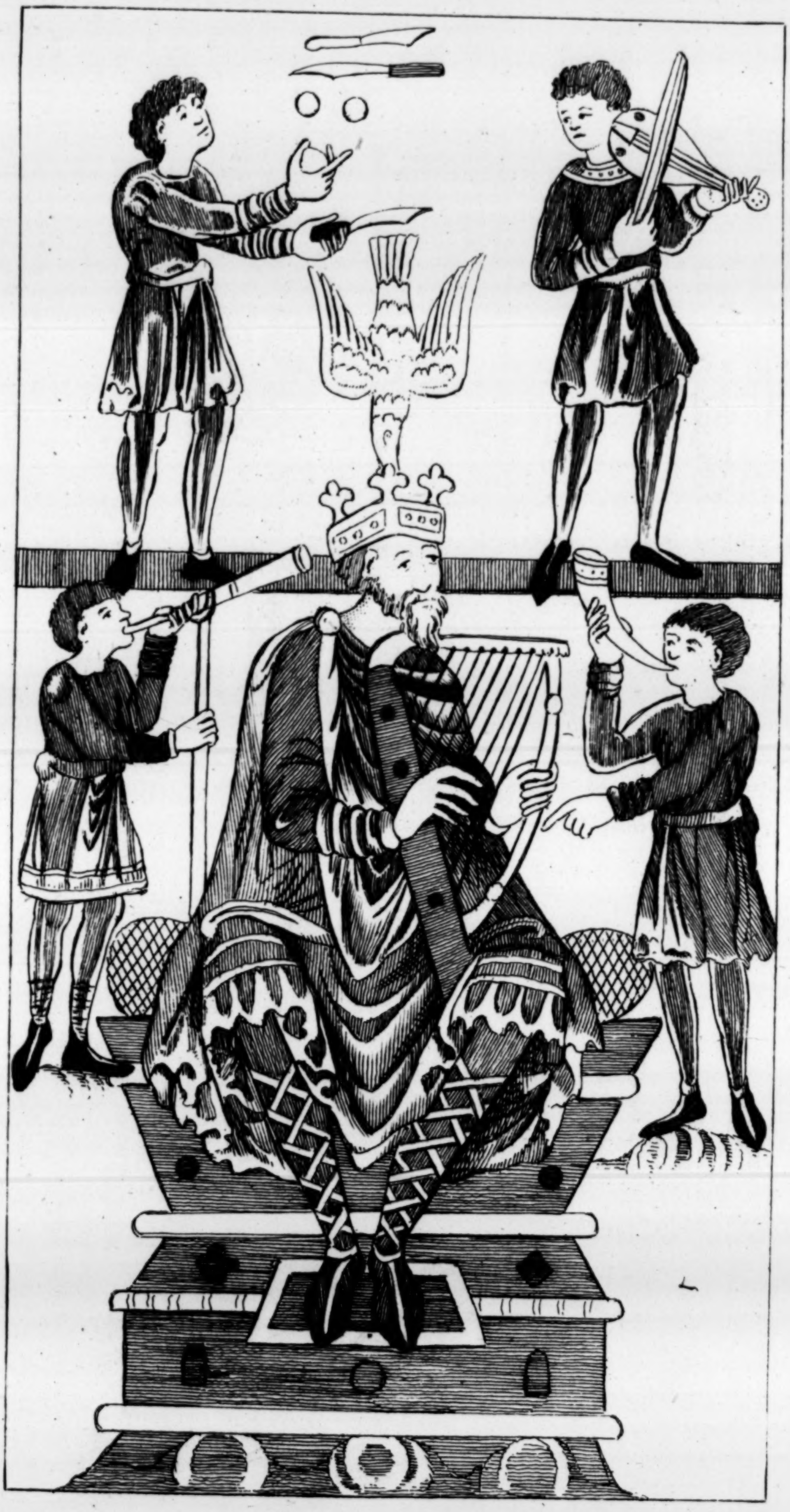
Fig .6



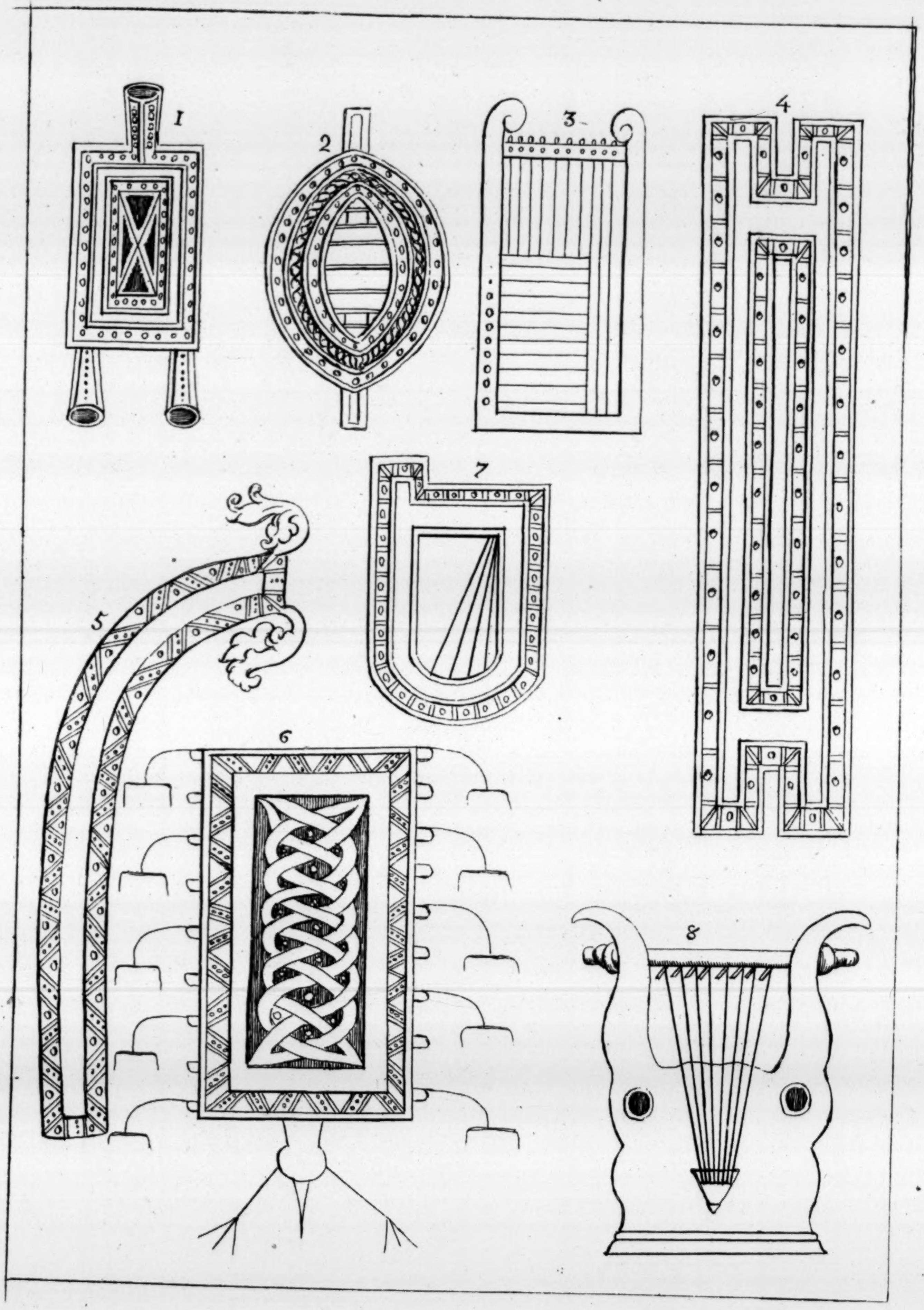

Pictura et scriptura huius pagine subtus uisa : est de propria manu sci dunstani .
uirga recta est
uenite filii audite me timore dni docebo uos
uirga regni tui
dunstanum memet cle
mens rogo xpe tuere
Tenarias me non sinas
sorbsisse procellas ;

& Nº. E. D. 2. MS. apud Bl: Bod: Oxon.

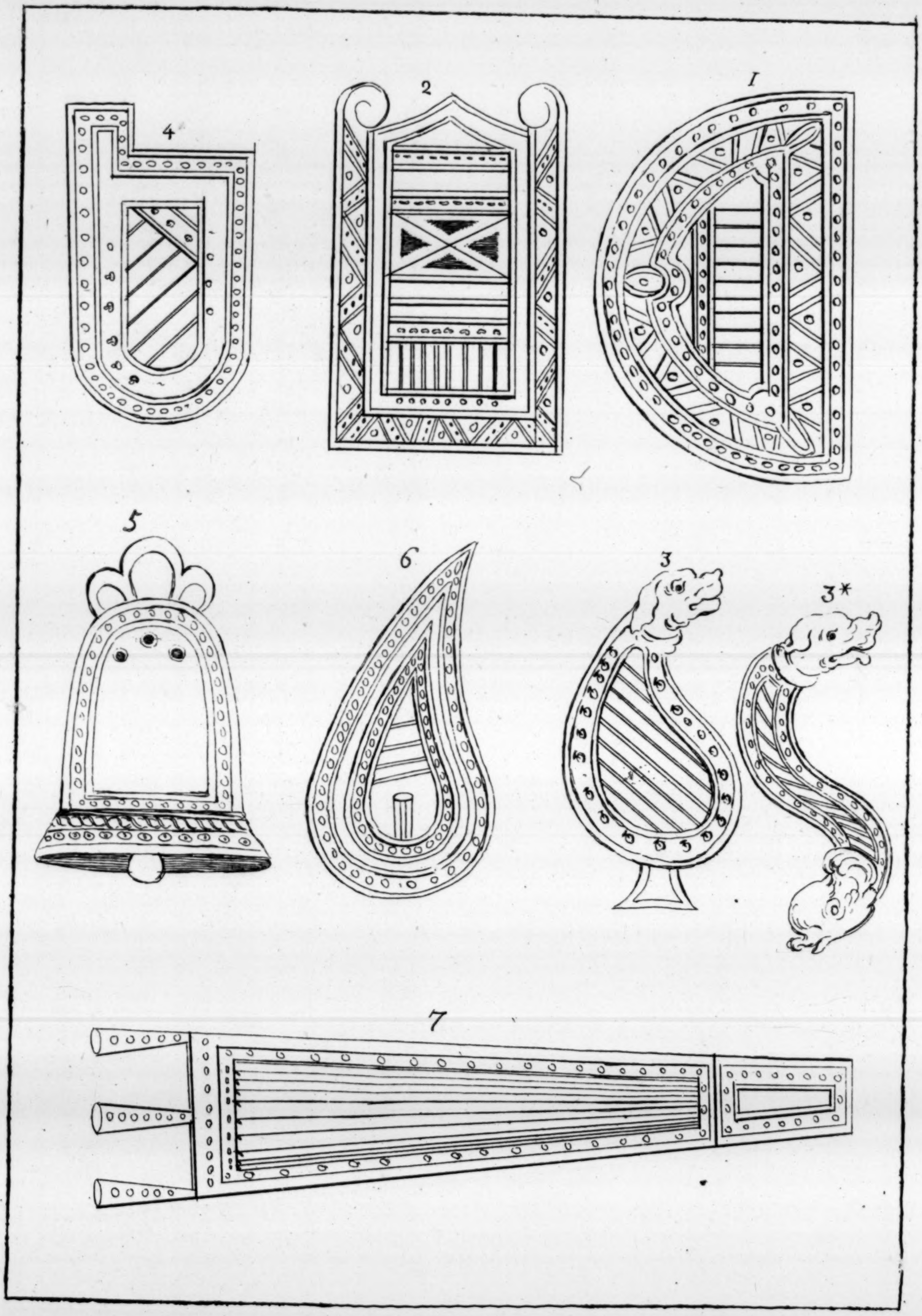
XIX

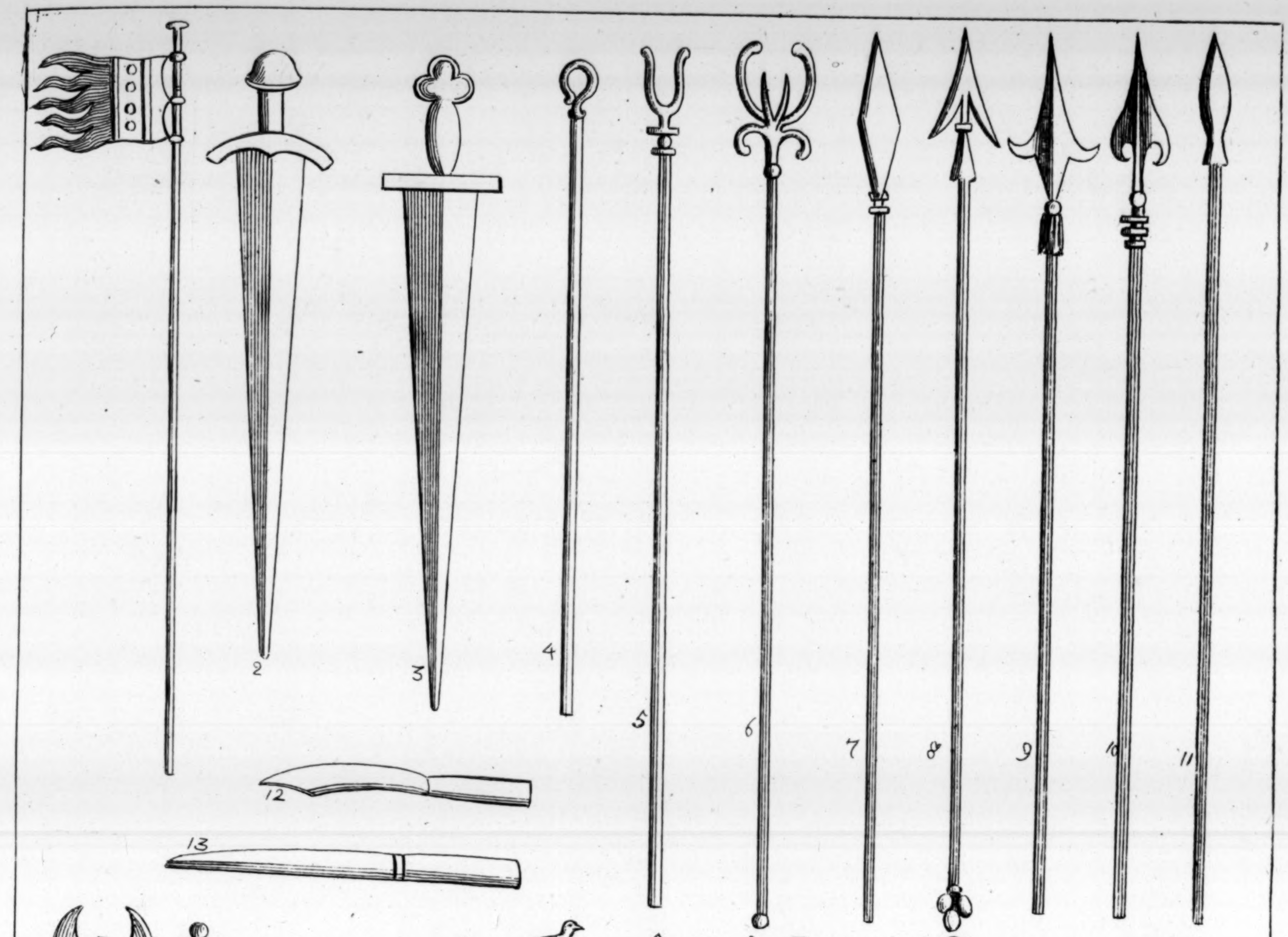


XX



XXI

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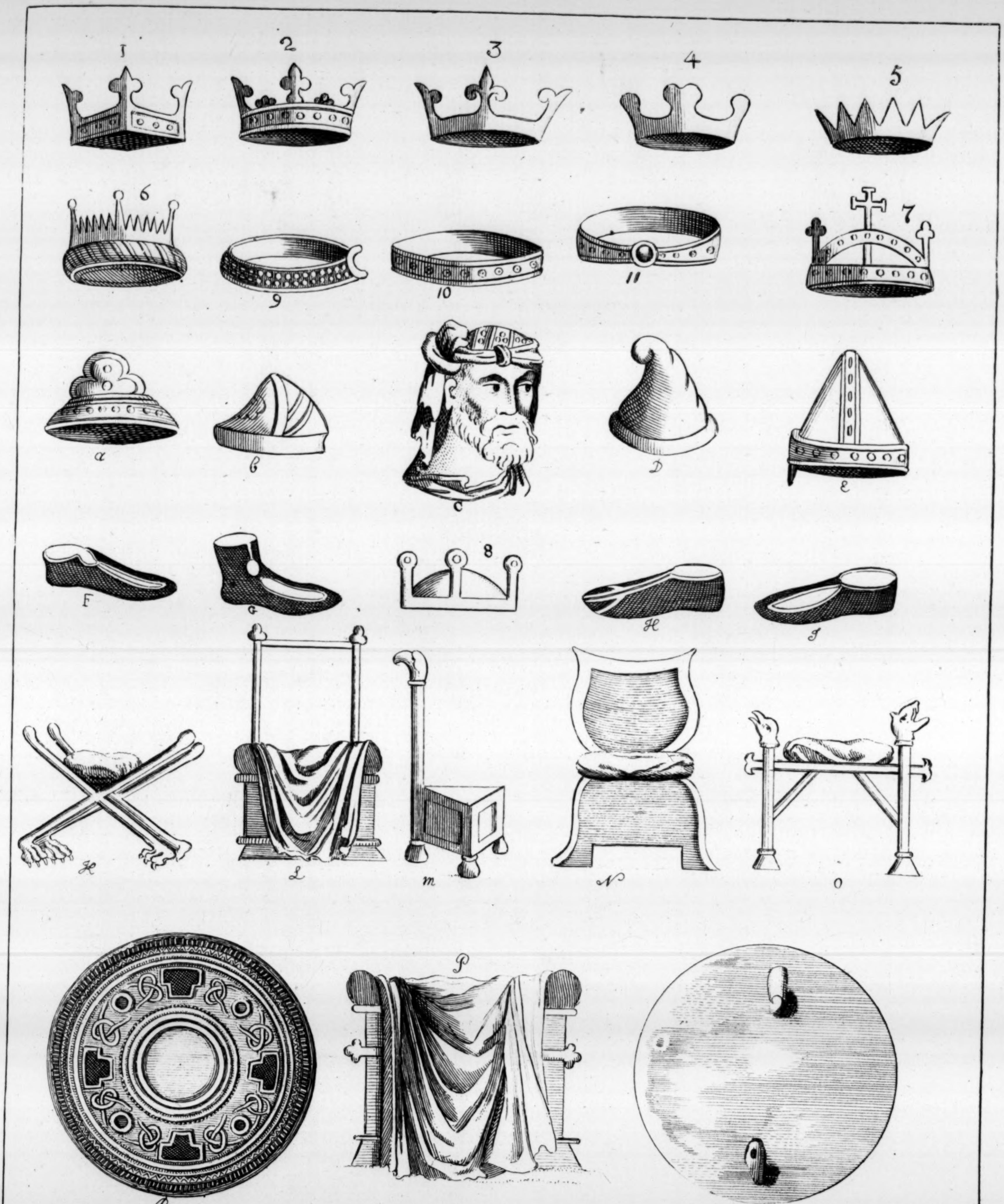
XXIII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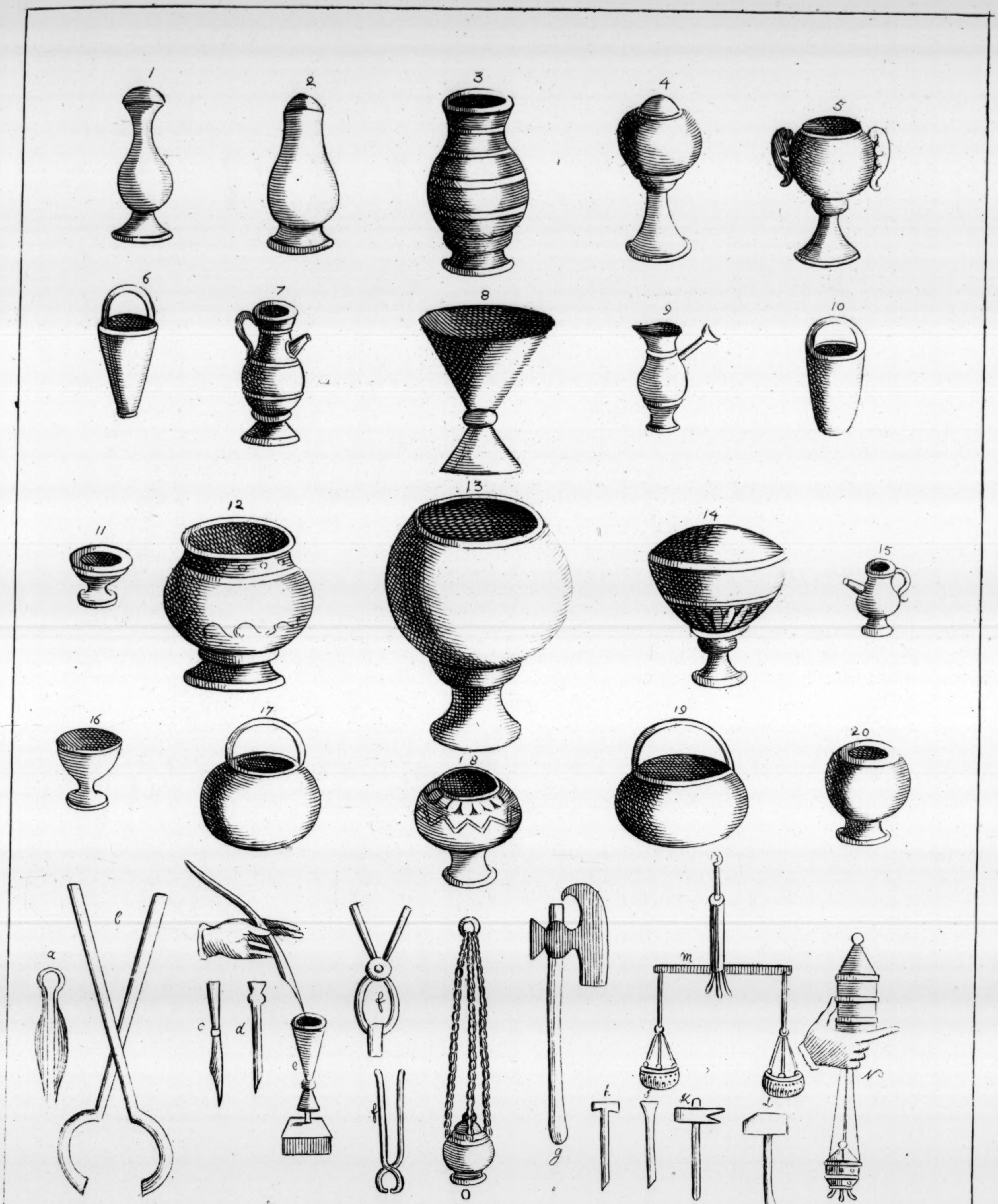
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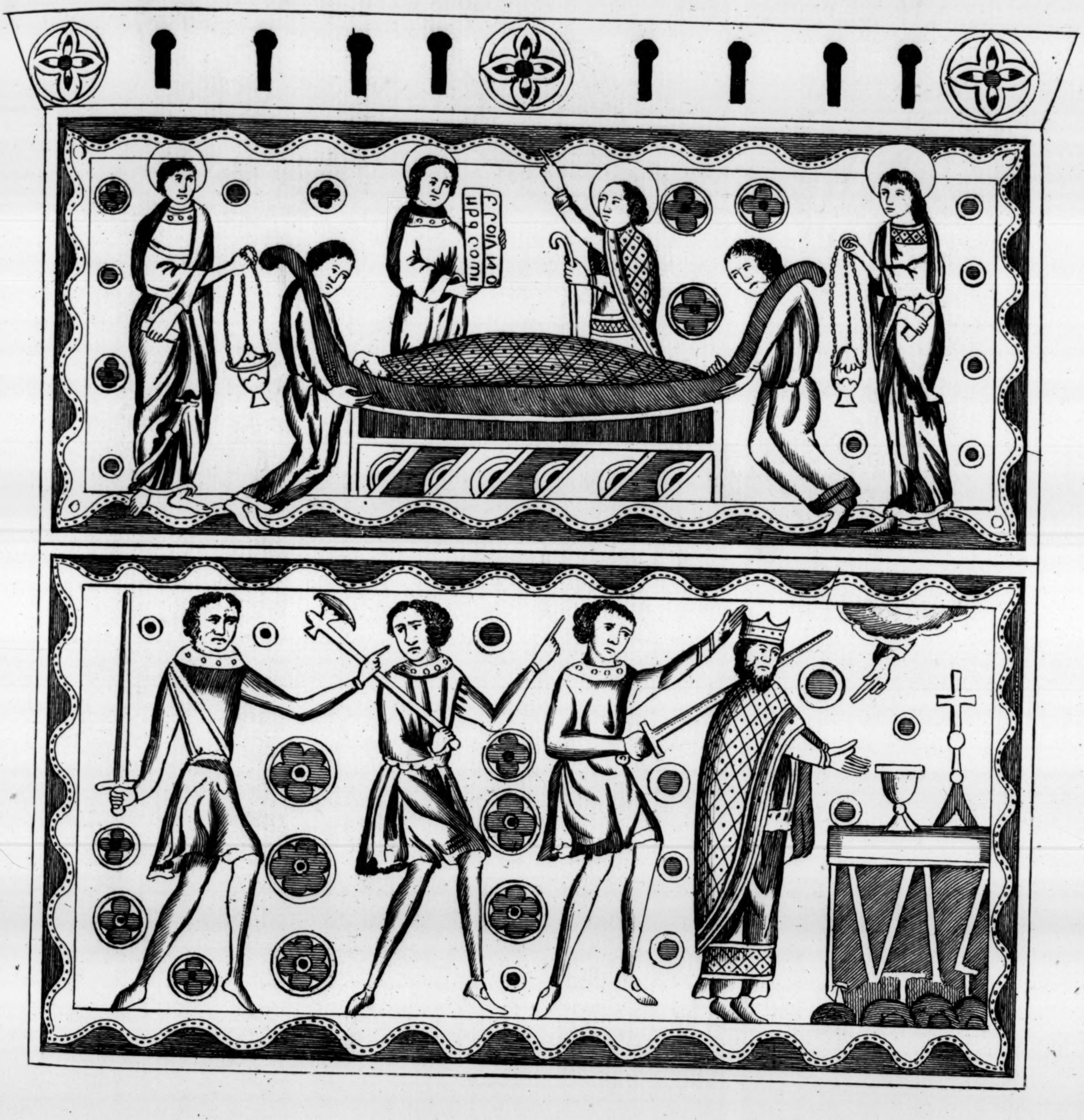
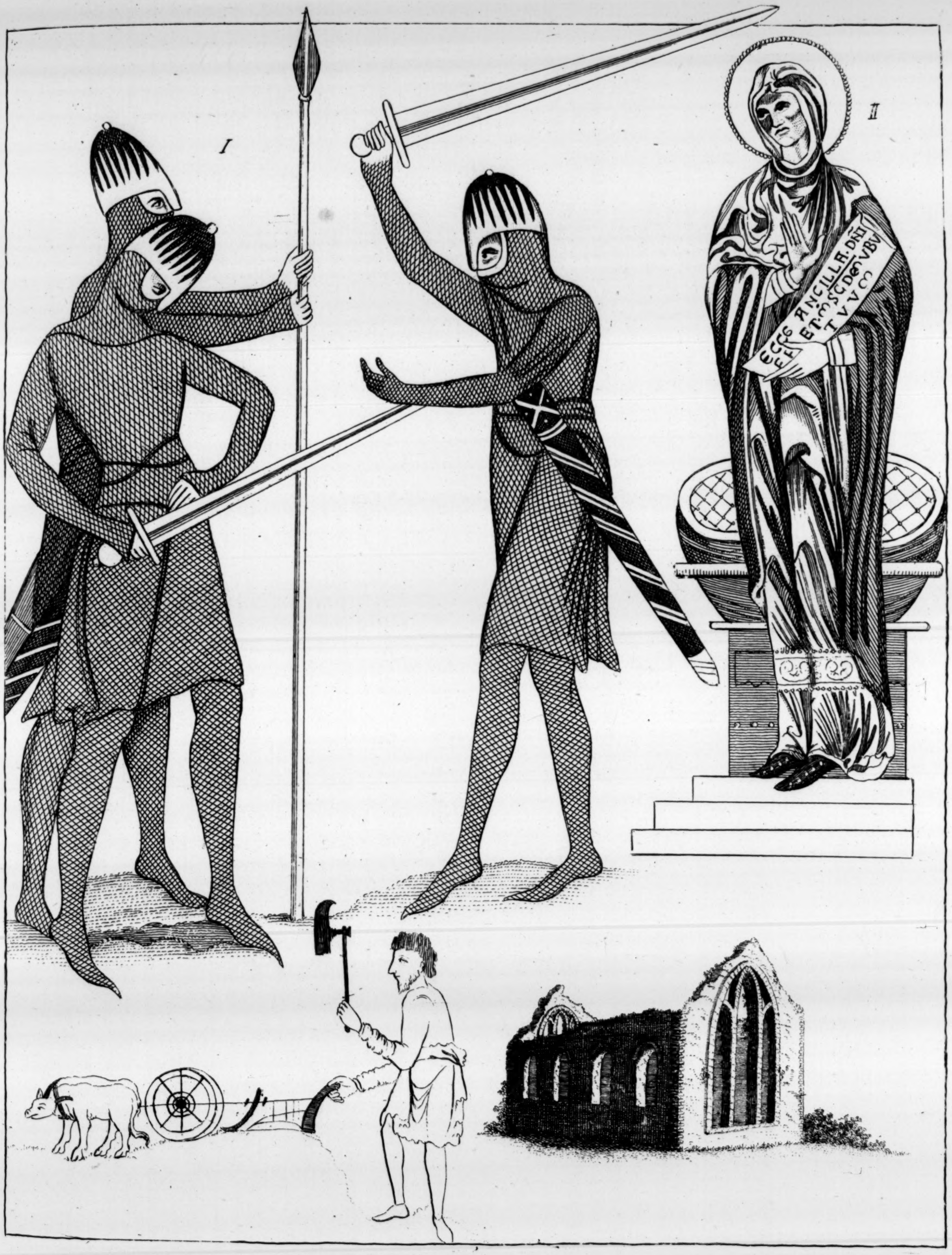
XXV



XXVI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FI ET·M·SC·DM VBV
TVVM

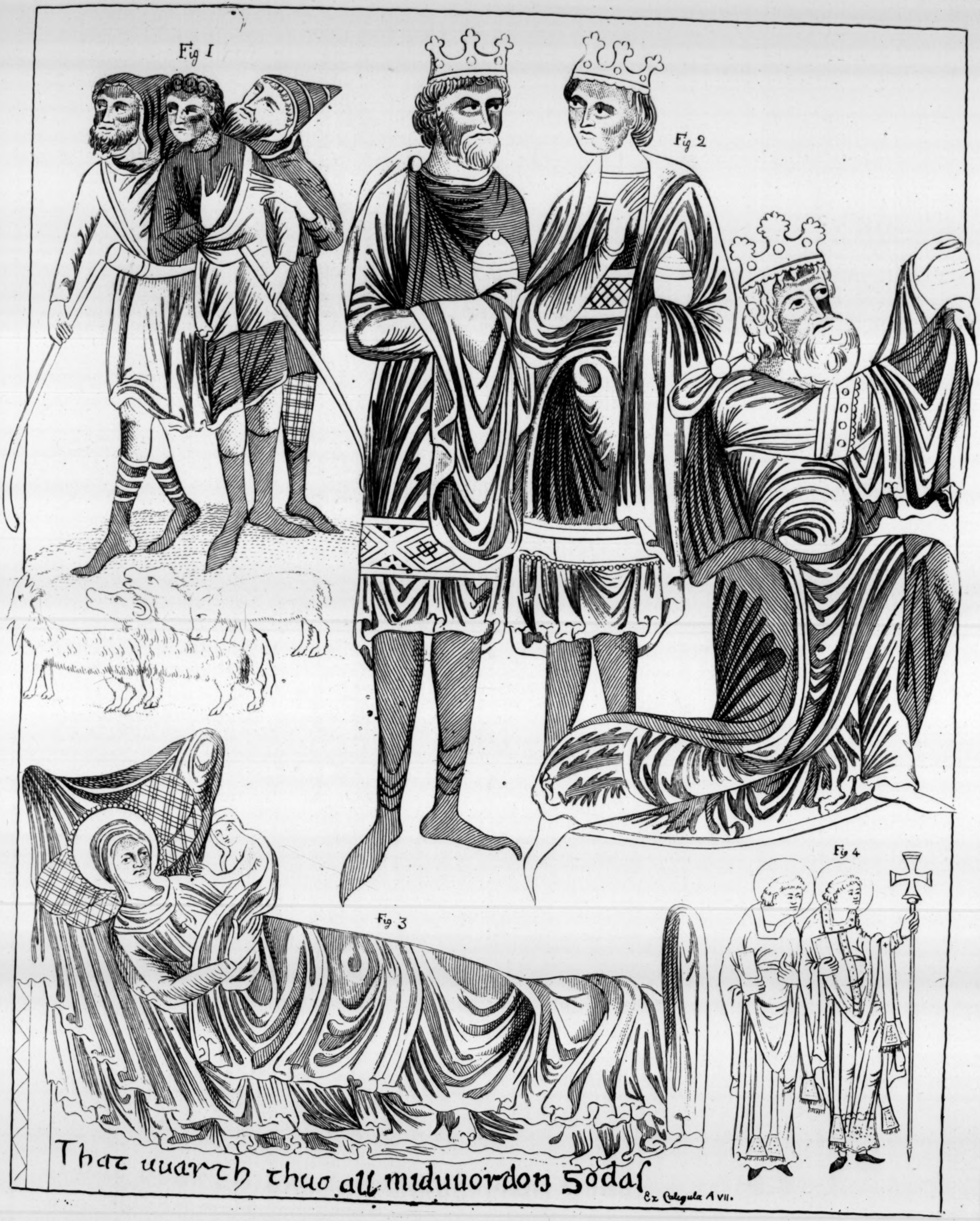


Fig 1

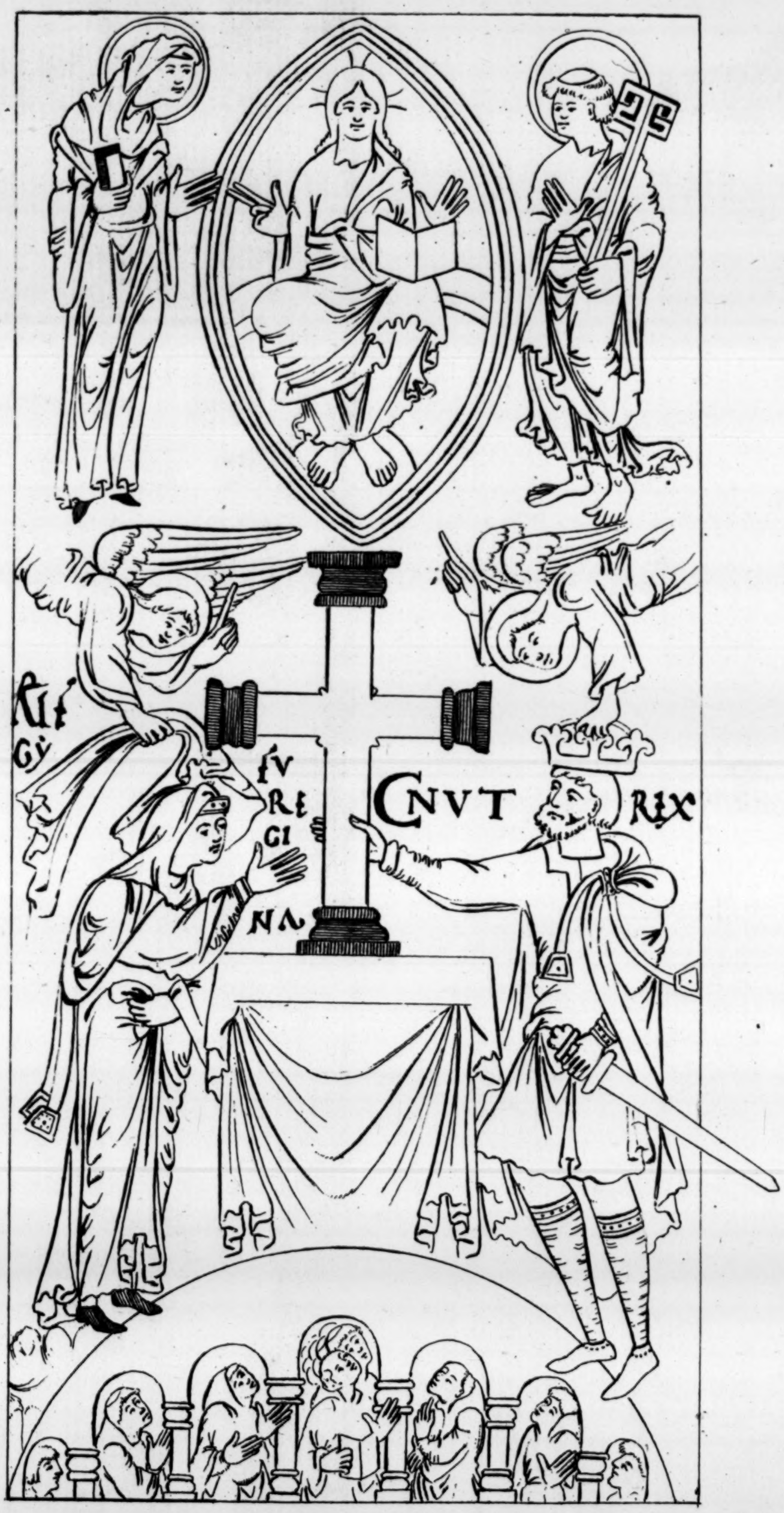
Fig 2

Fig 3

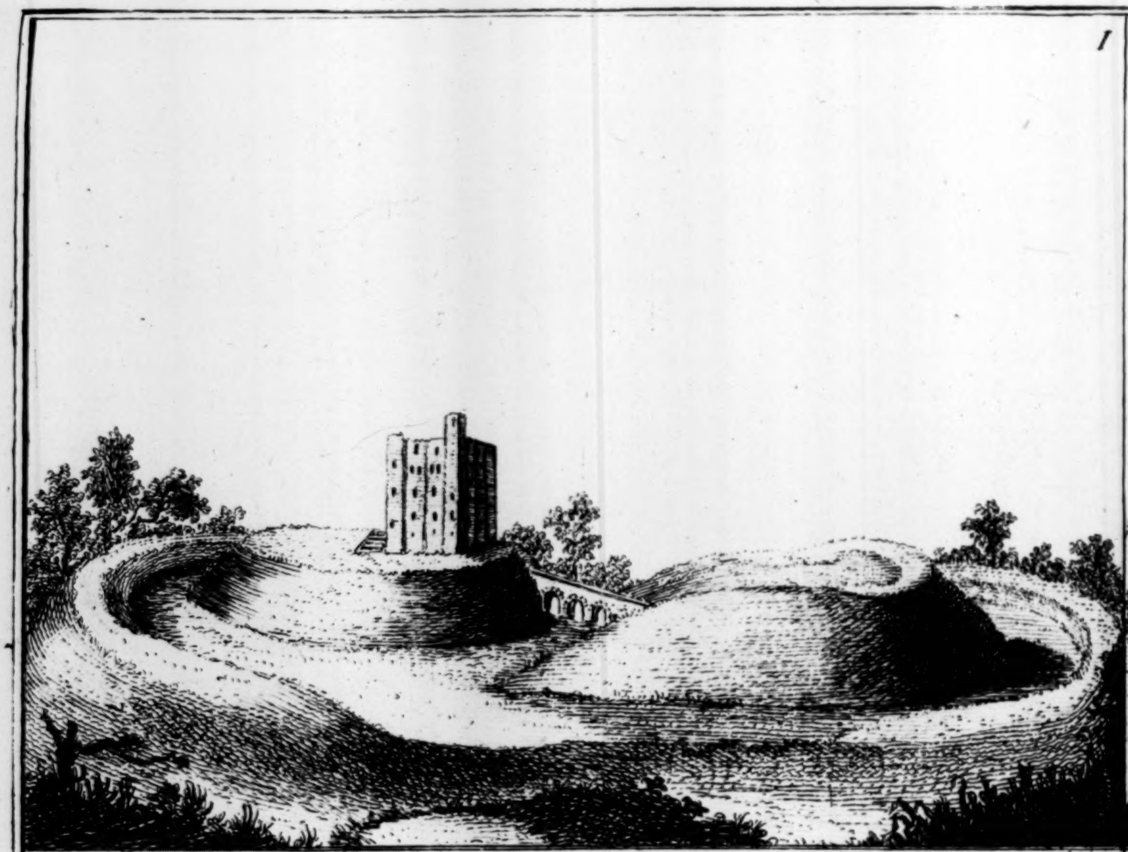
Fig 4

That uuarth thuo all miduuordon godas

Ex Caligula A VII.


ÆLFGYFU REGINA
CNUT REX

⁊ ealle þa boclanð þe ic on cænt hæbbe ; Ex MS. penes T. Astle Esq.



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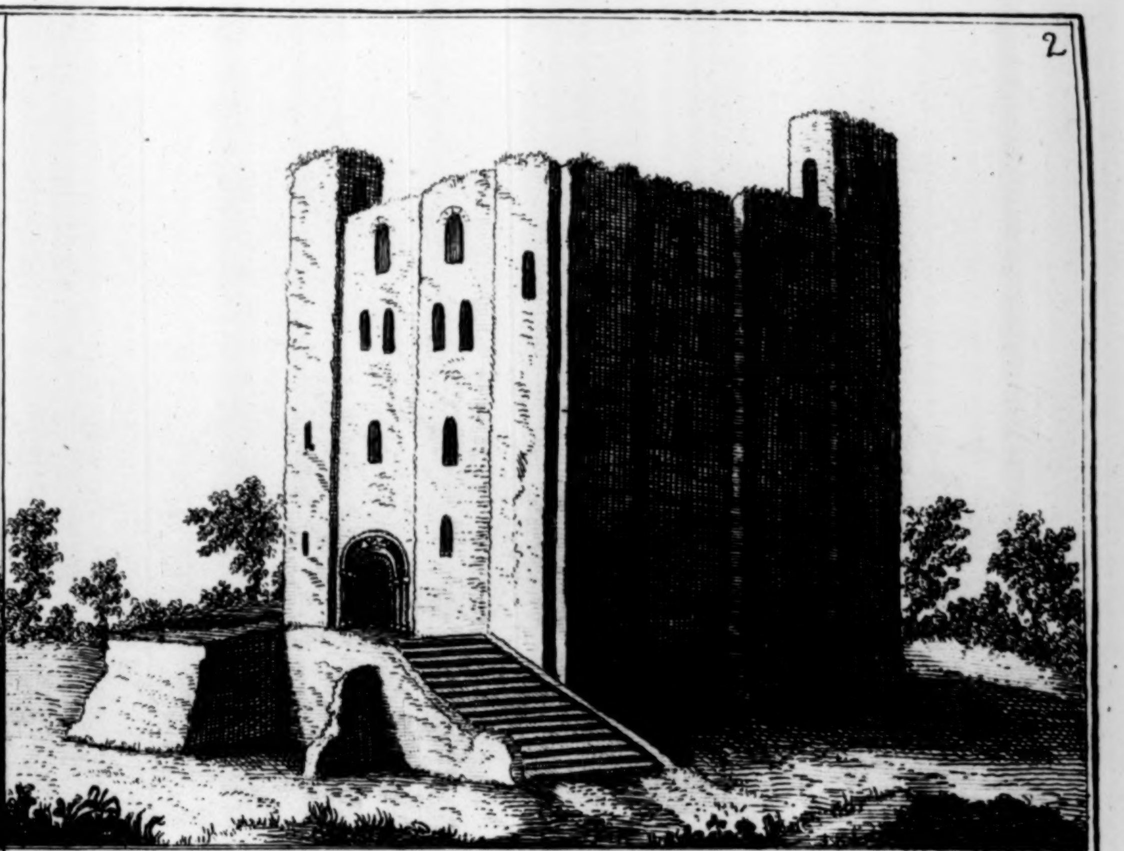

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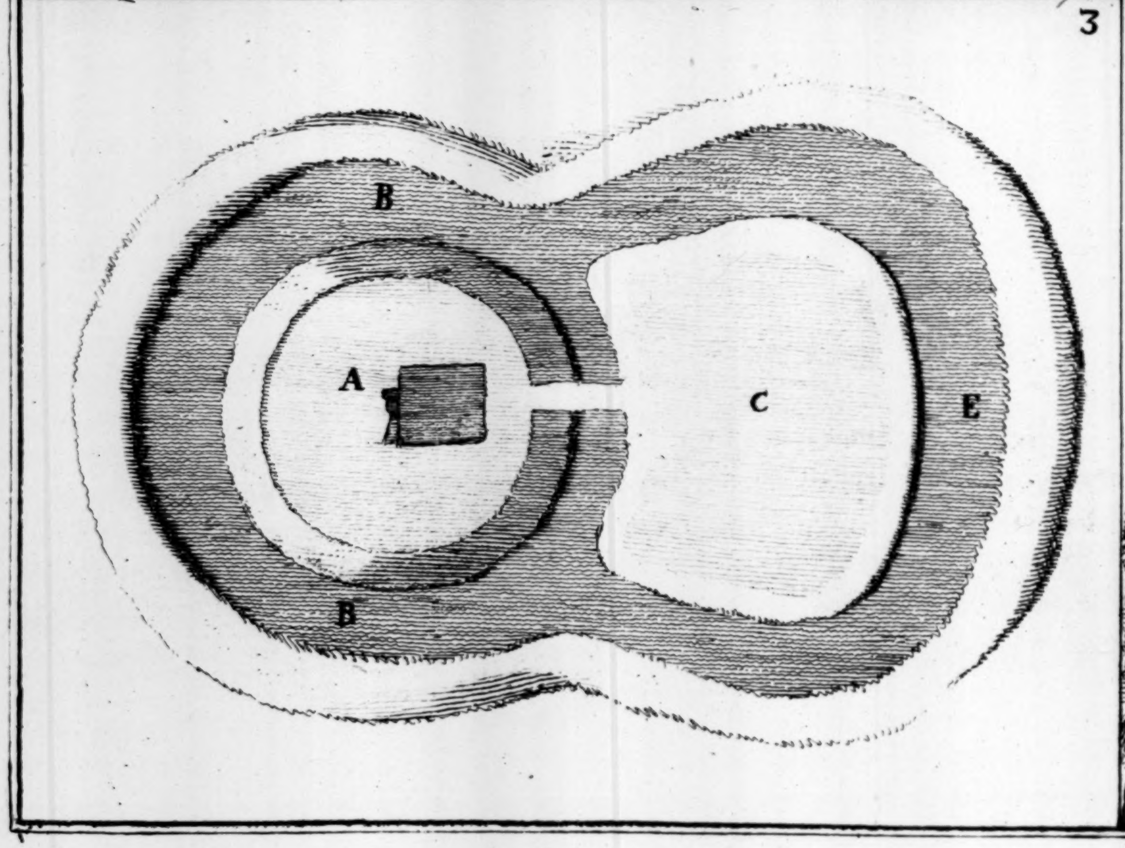

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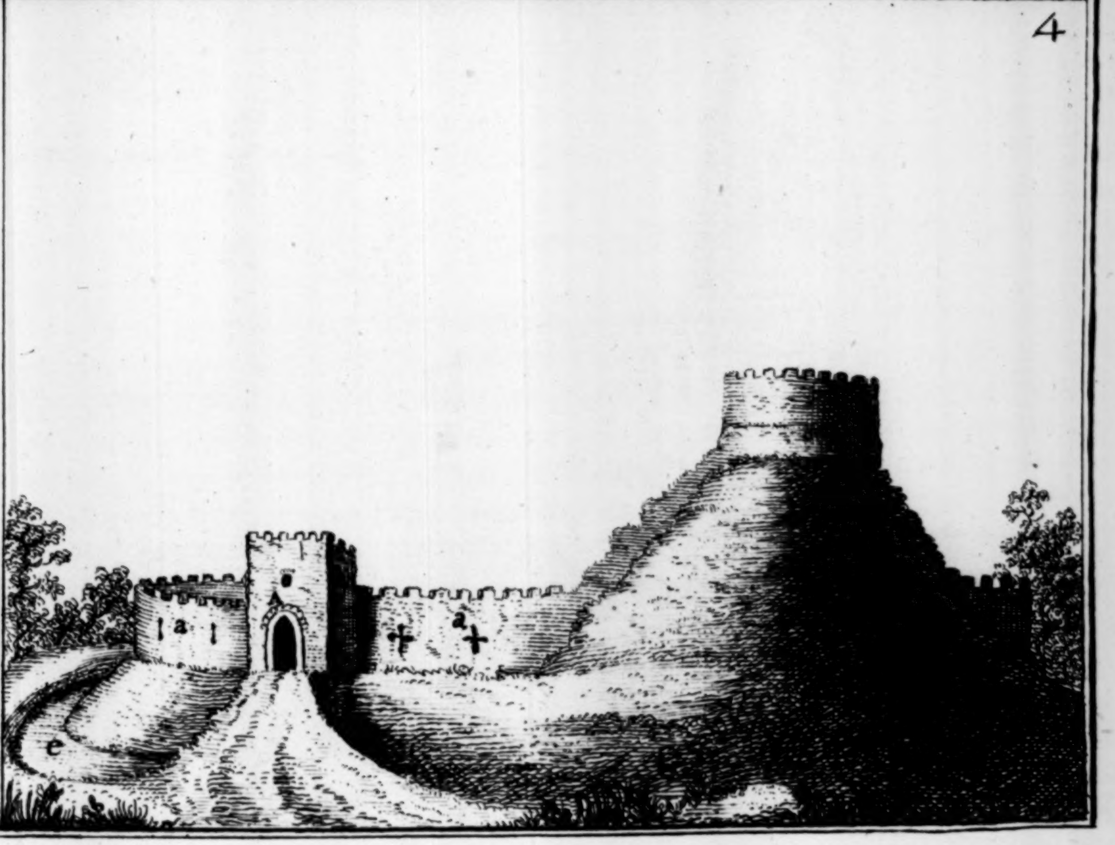

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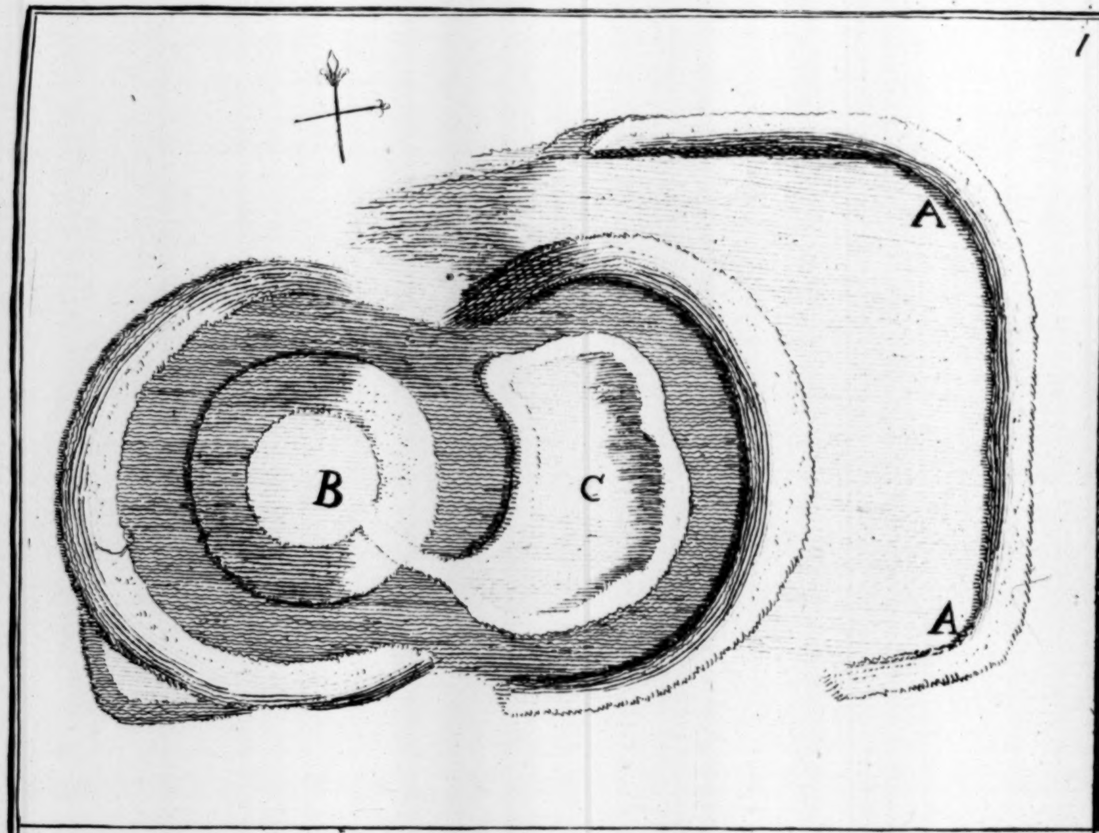
XXX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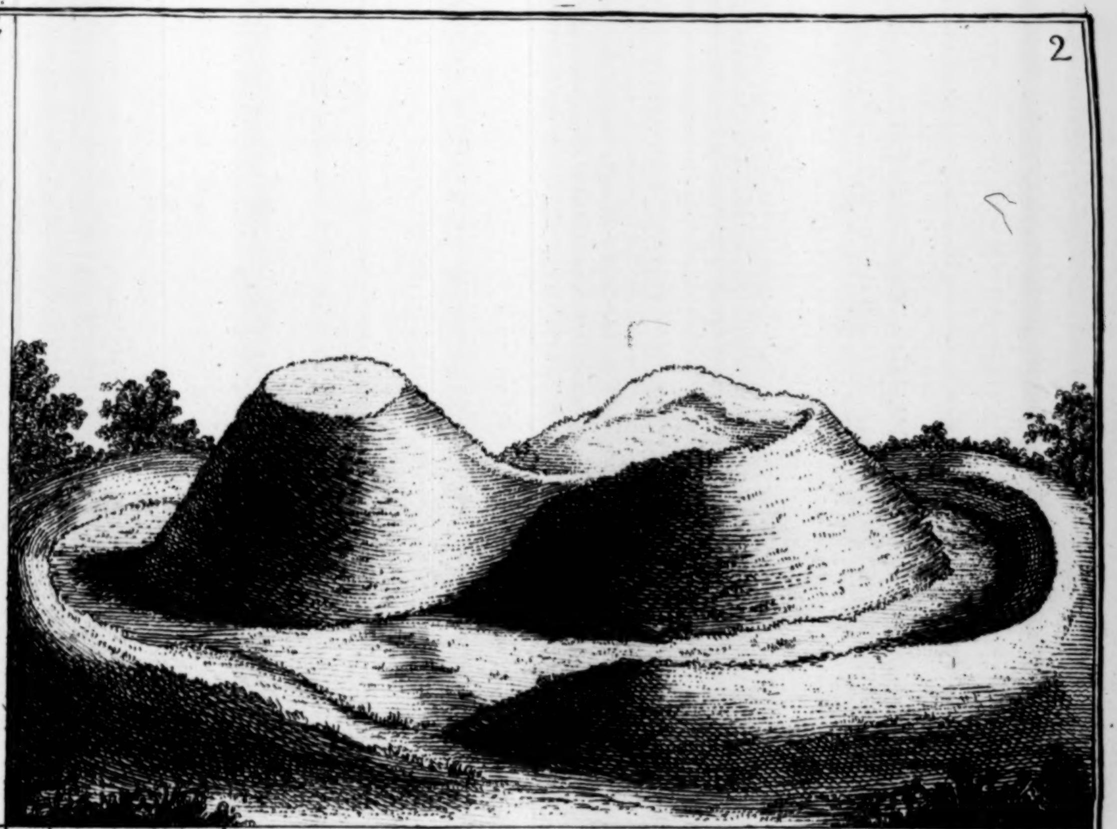
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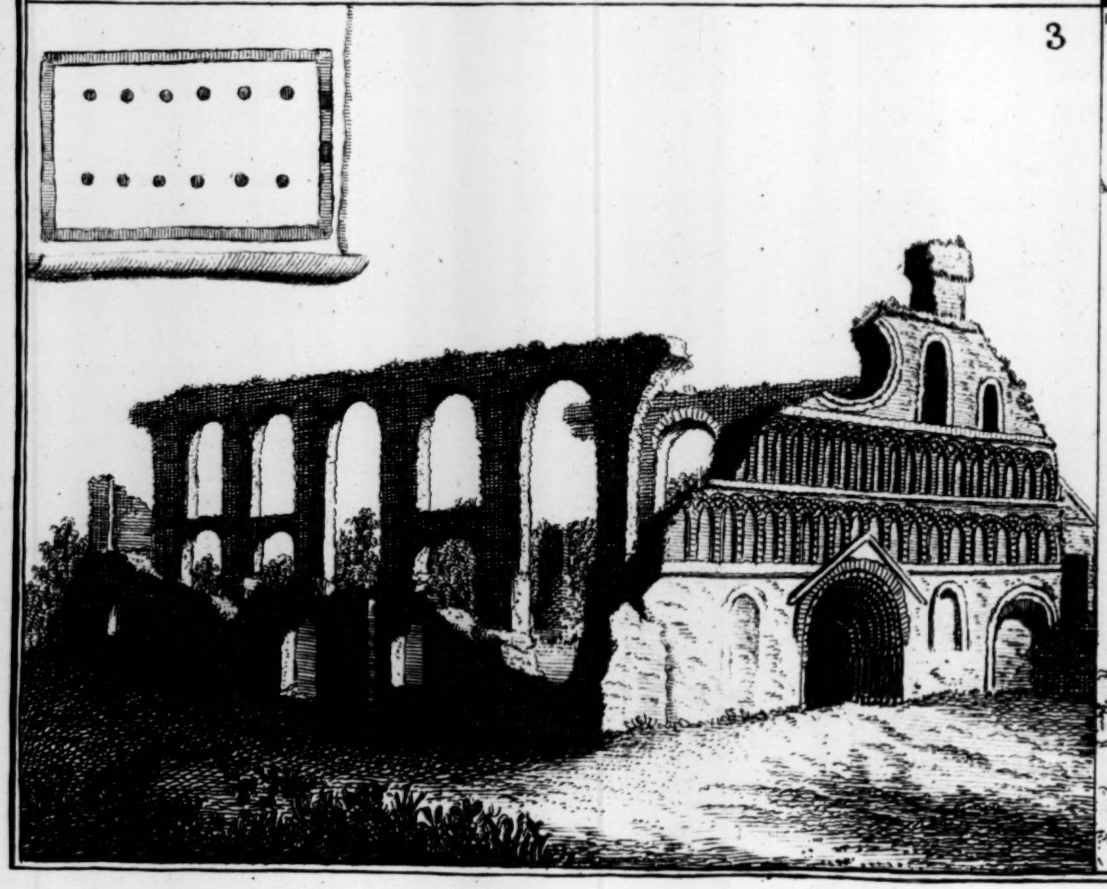
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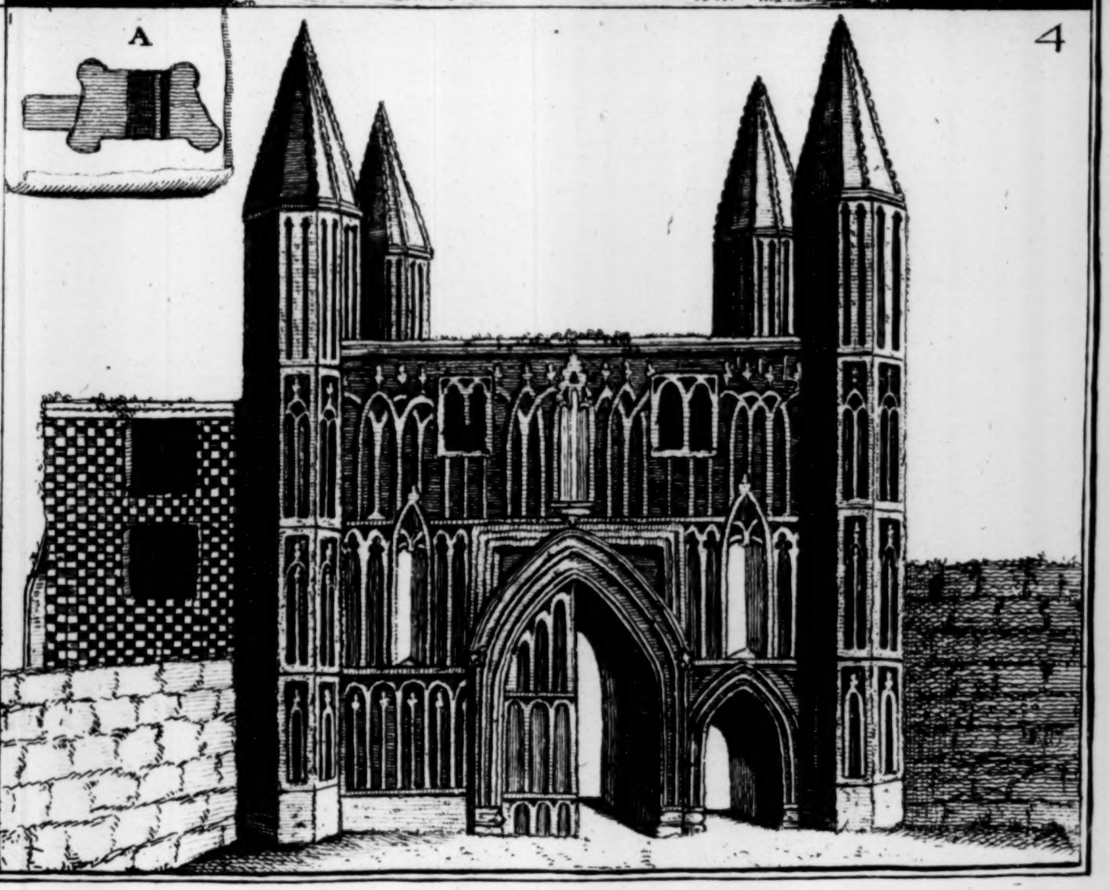
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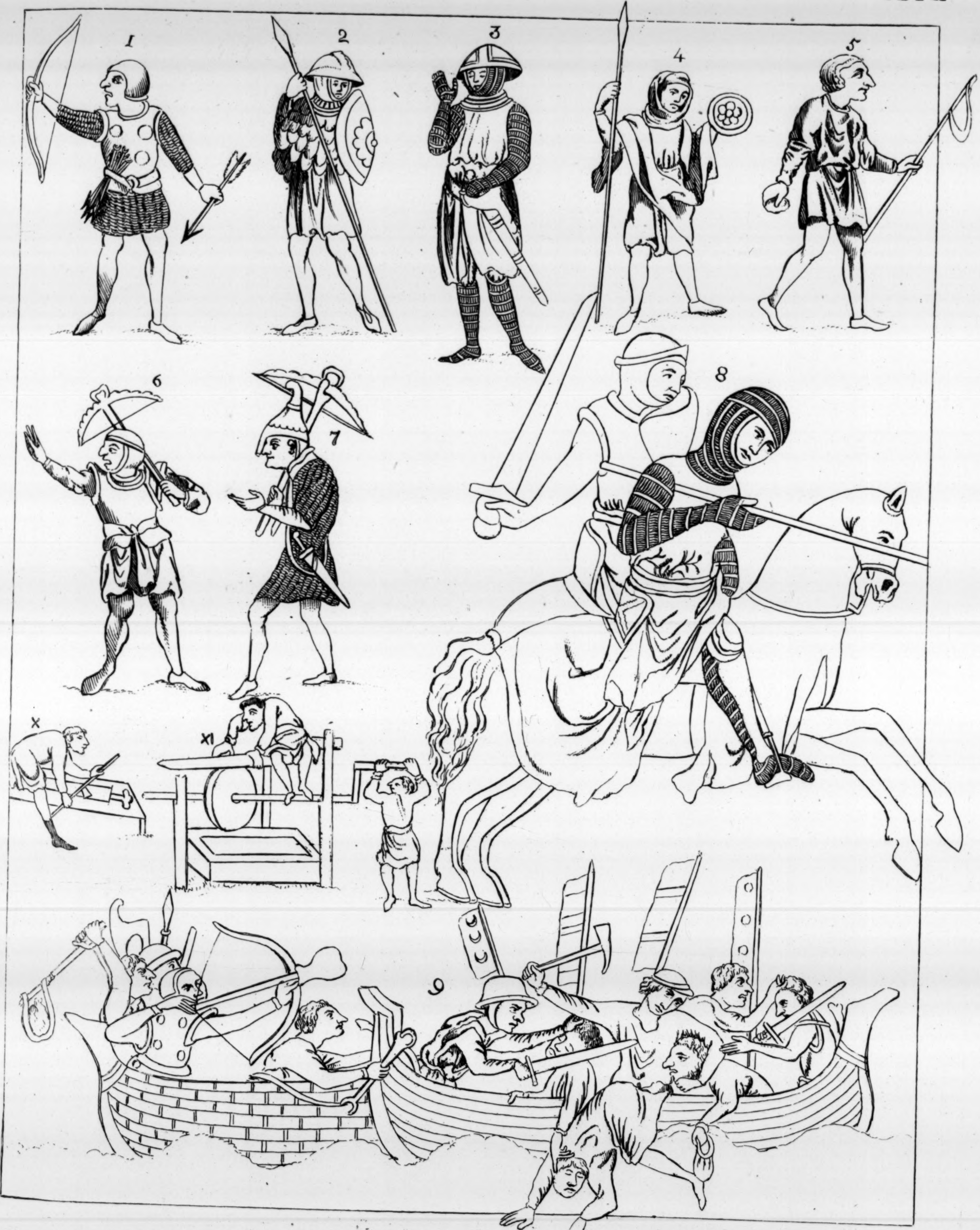
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XXXII

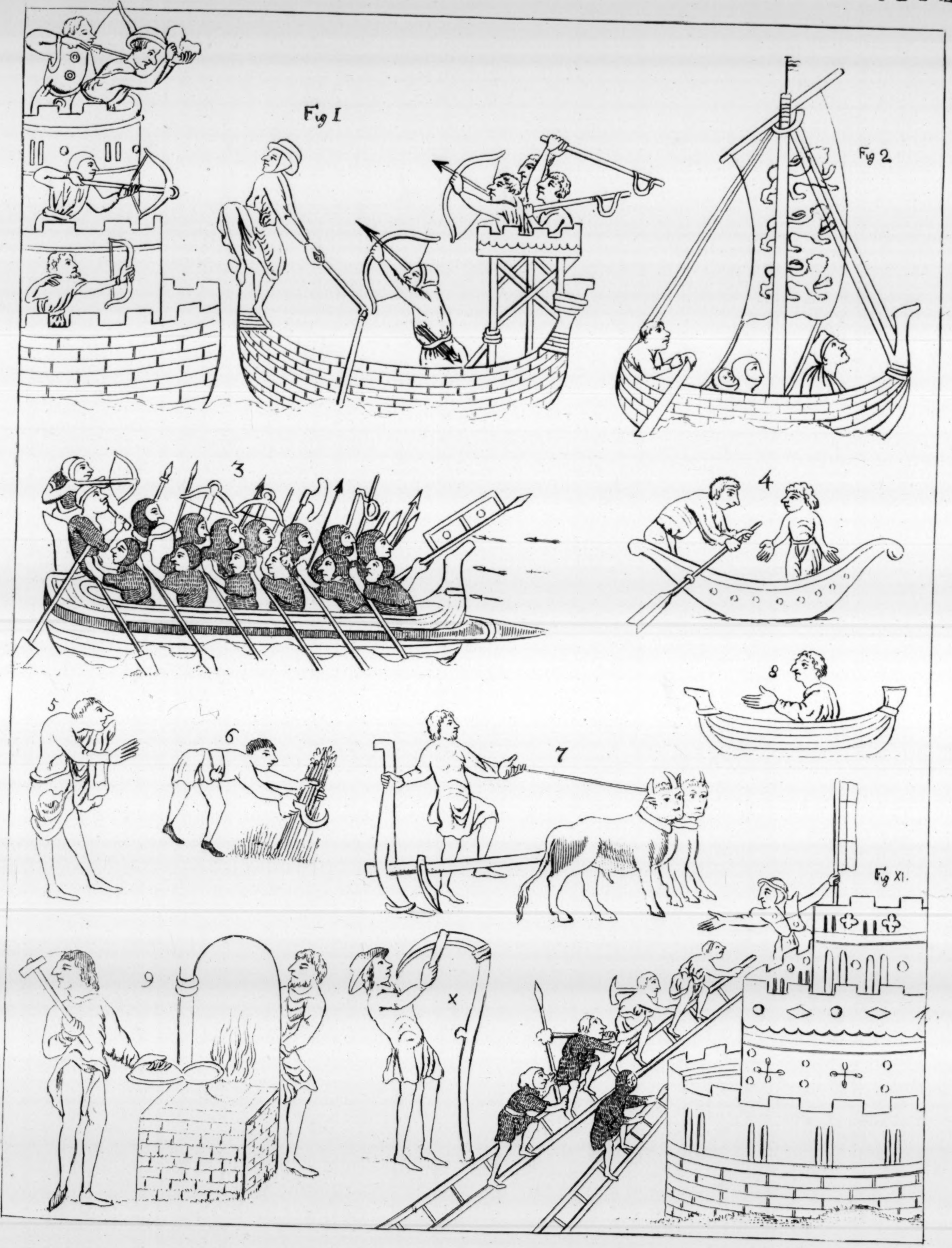
Fig I
Fig 2
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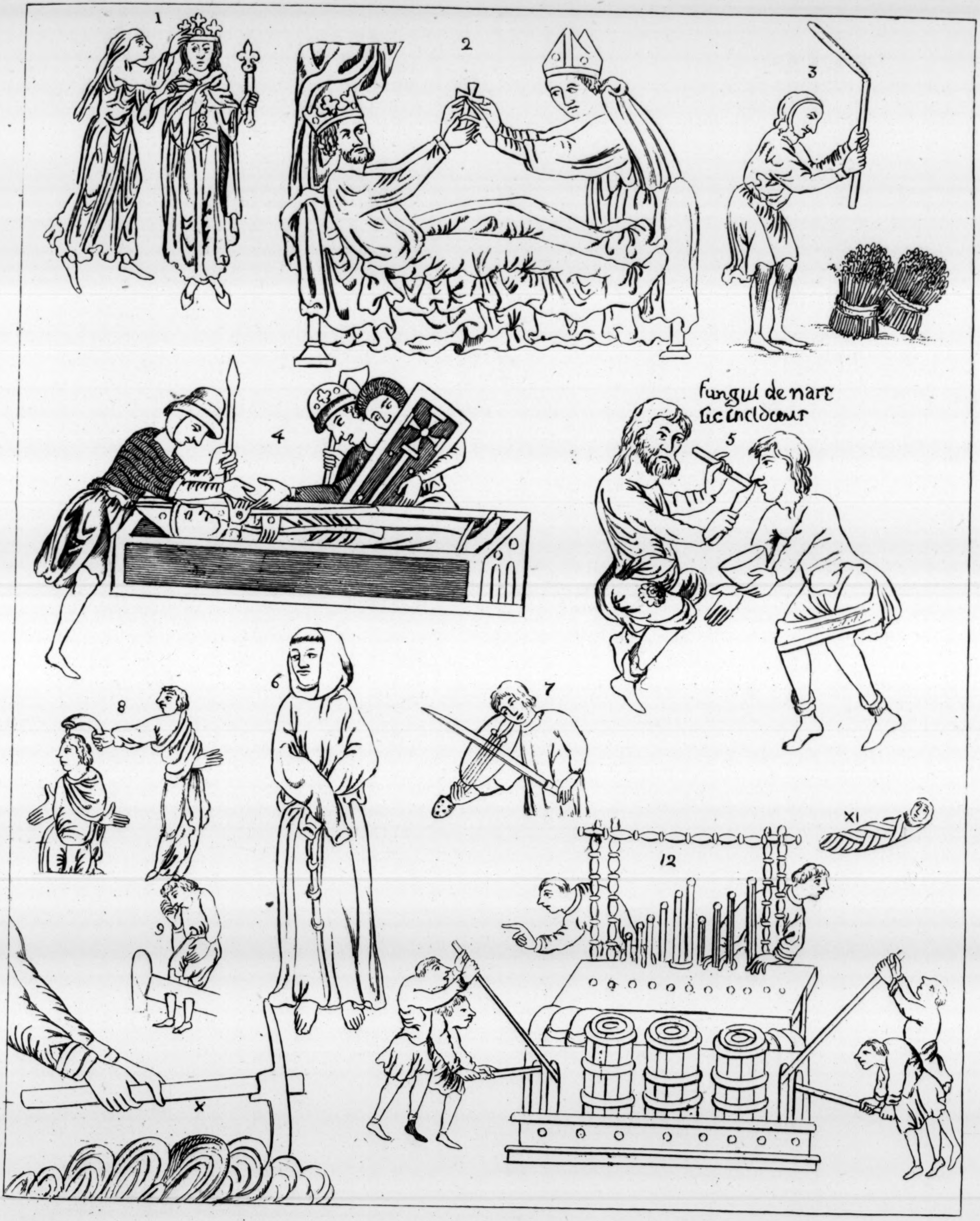
Fig XI.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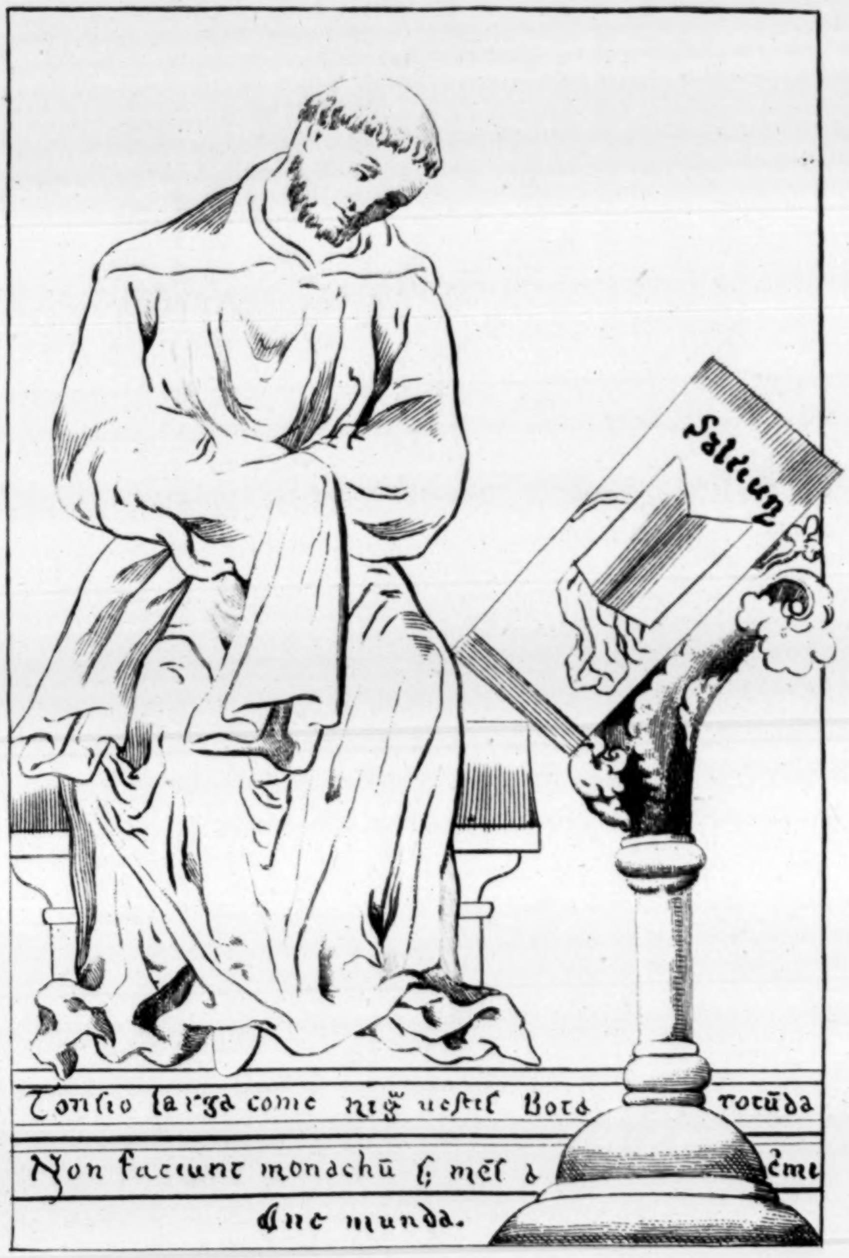
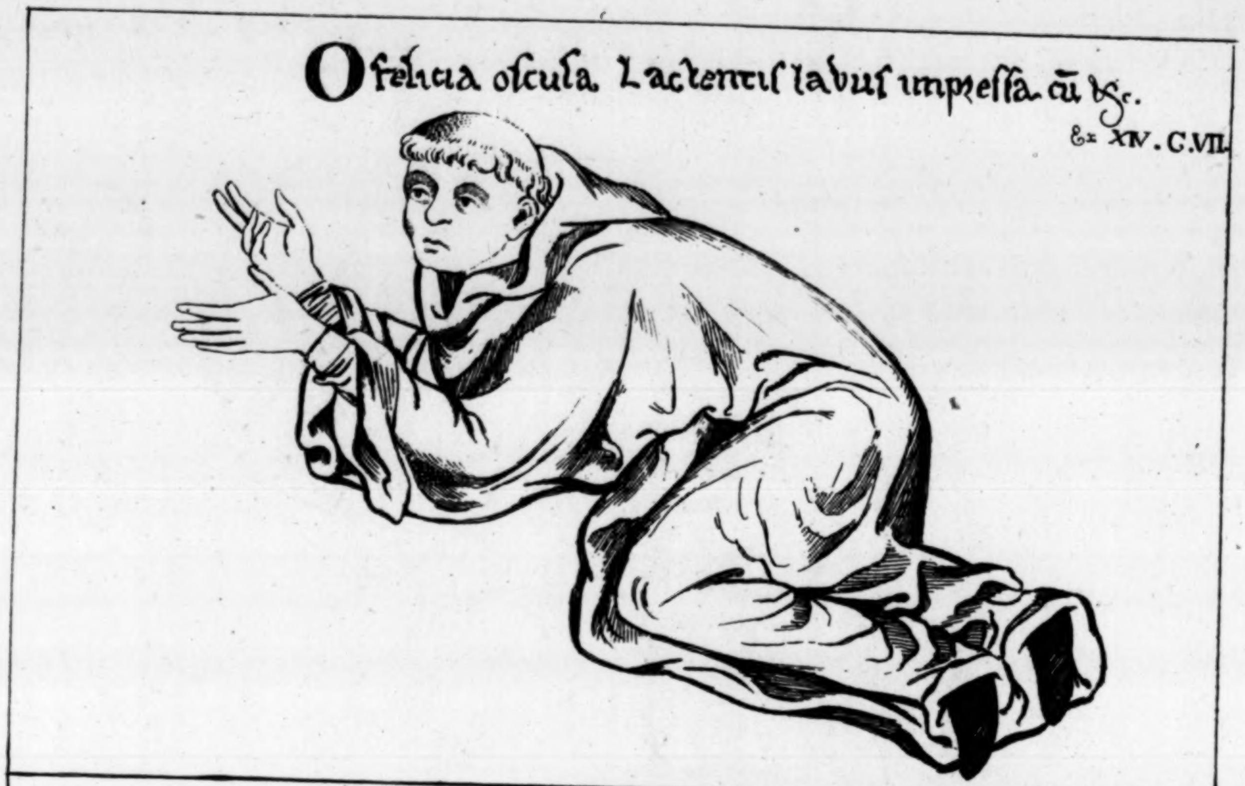
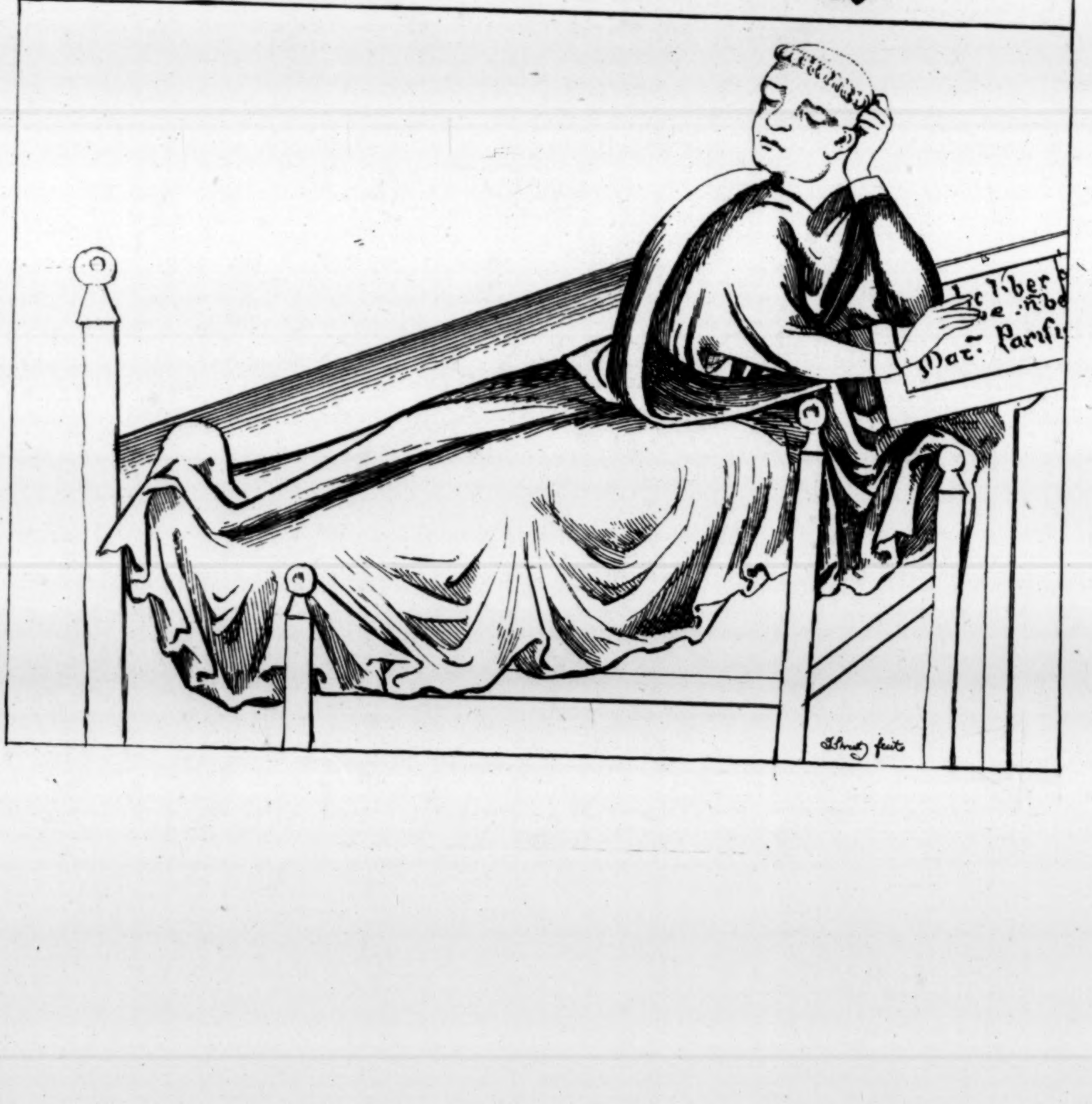
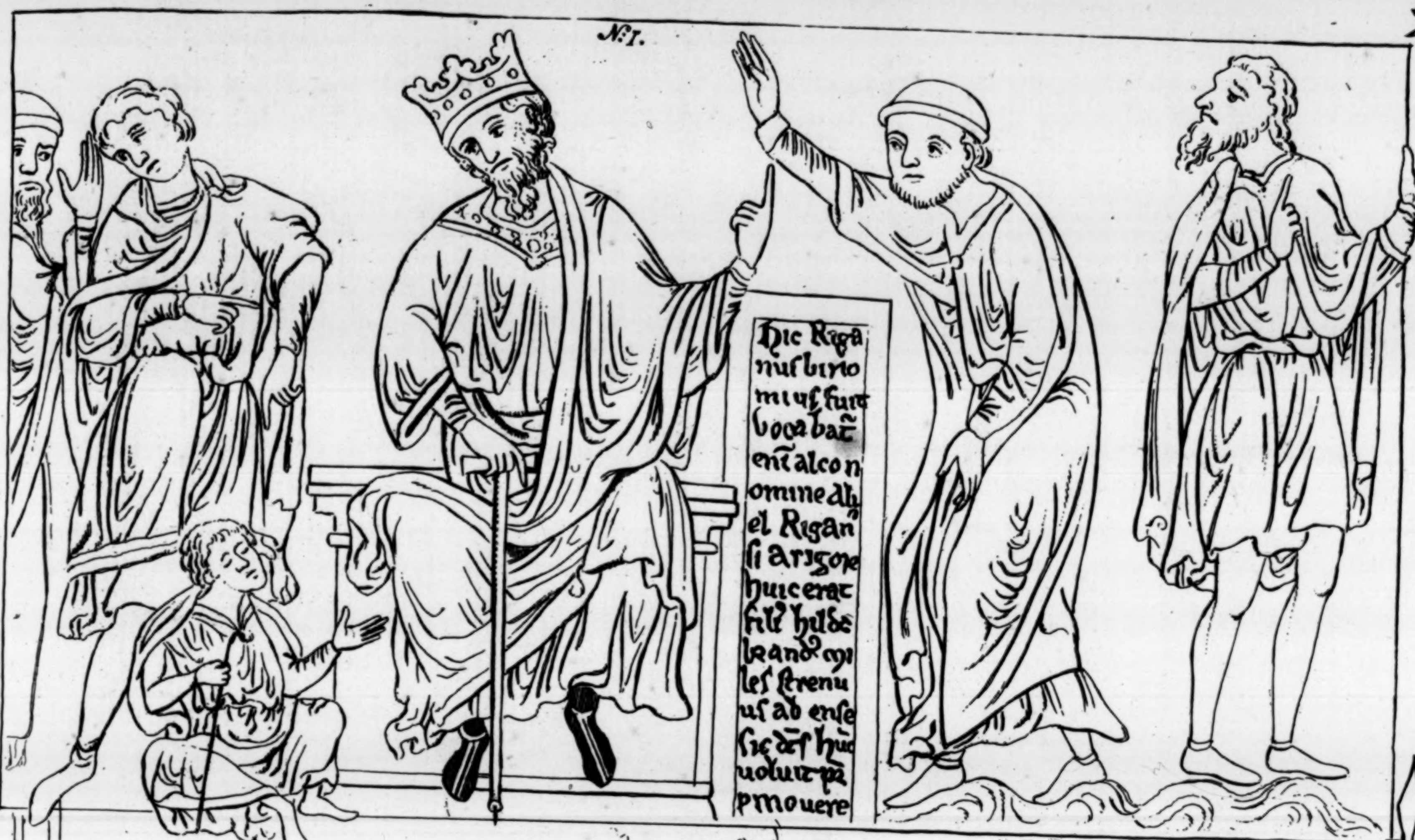

Saltiuꝫ
Tonſio larga come nig̃ ueſtiſ Bord rotūda
Non faciunt monachū ſ; mēſ a c̃me
ſine munda.

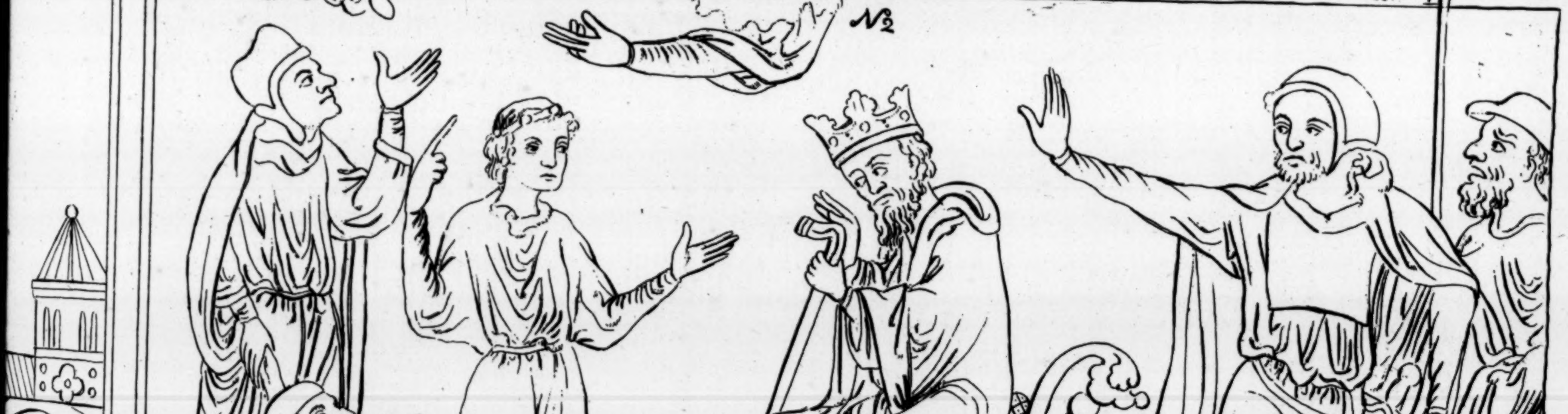

O felicia oscula Lactentis labus impressa cū &c.
Ex XIV. C.VII.

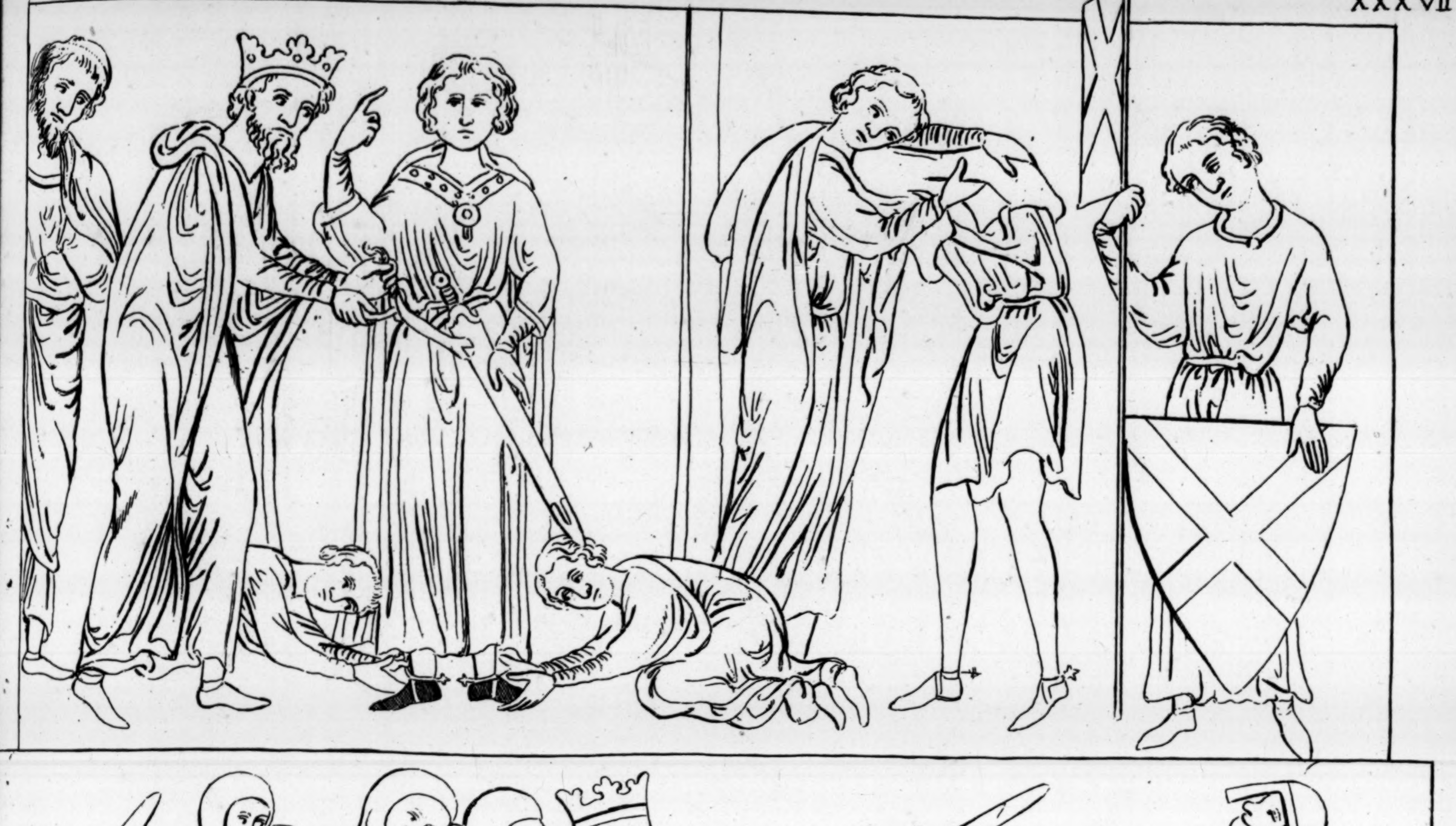

hc liber
be : nbe
Mat: Parisi
fecit

N°1.

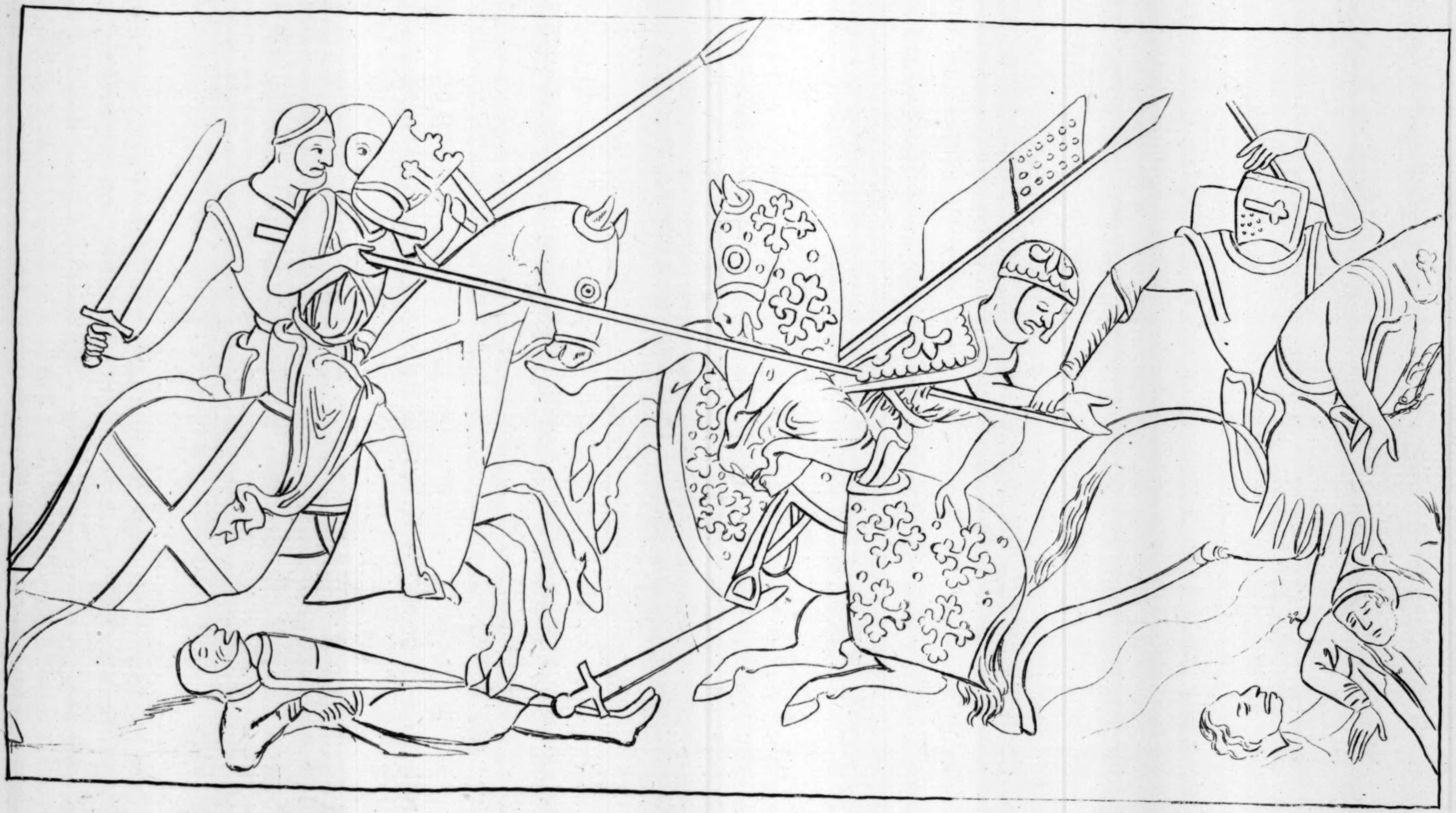

Hic Riga
nus bino
mius fuit
vocabat
ent alcon
omine aly
el Rigan
si a rigore
huic erat
filius hilde
brandus mi
les strenu
us ad ense
sic dens huc
voluit pa
pmouere

N°2

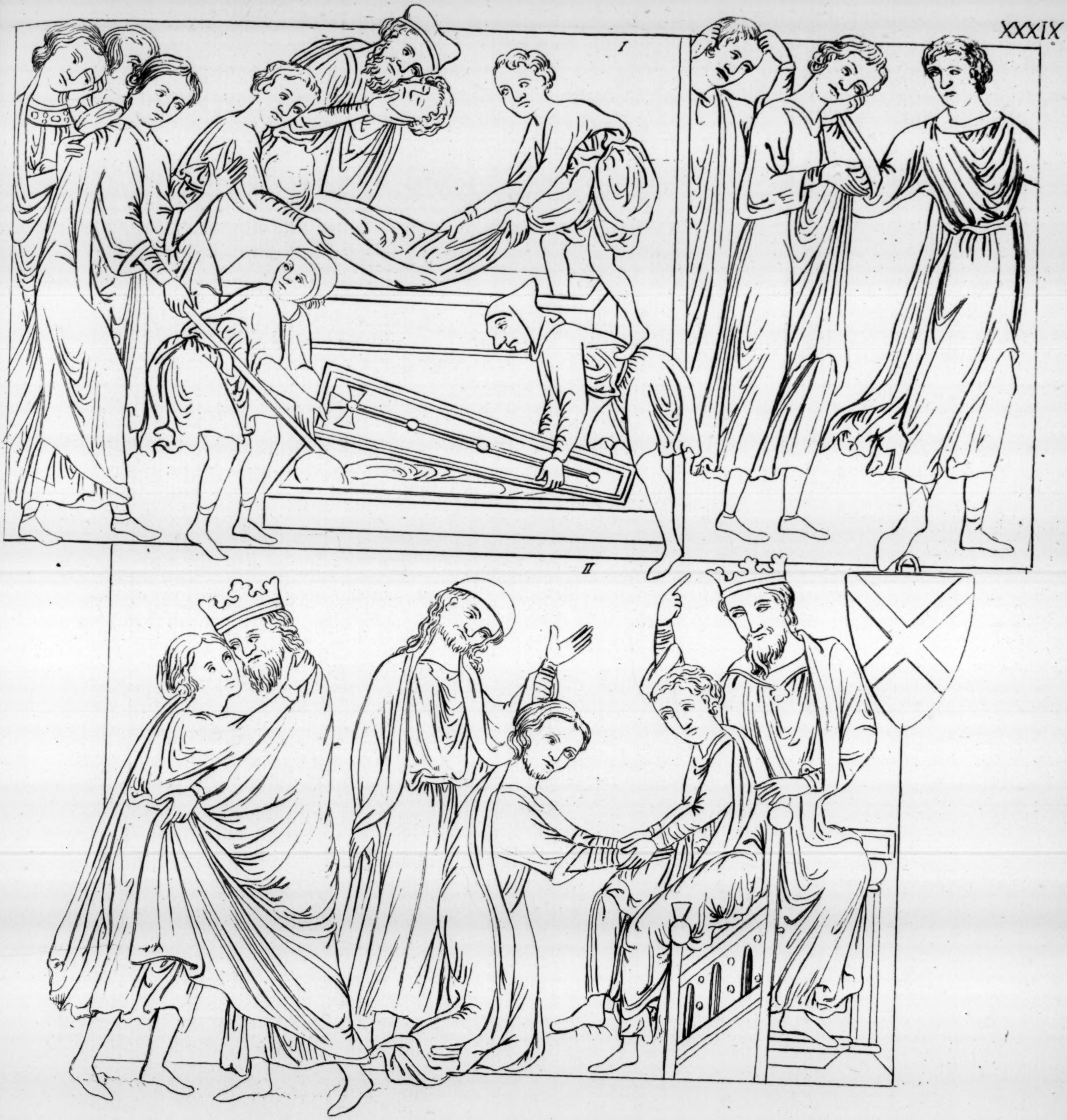


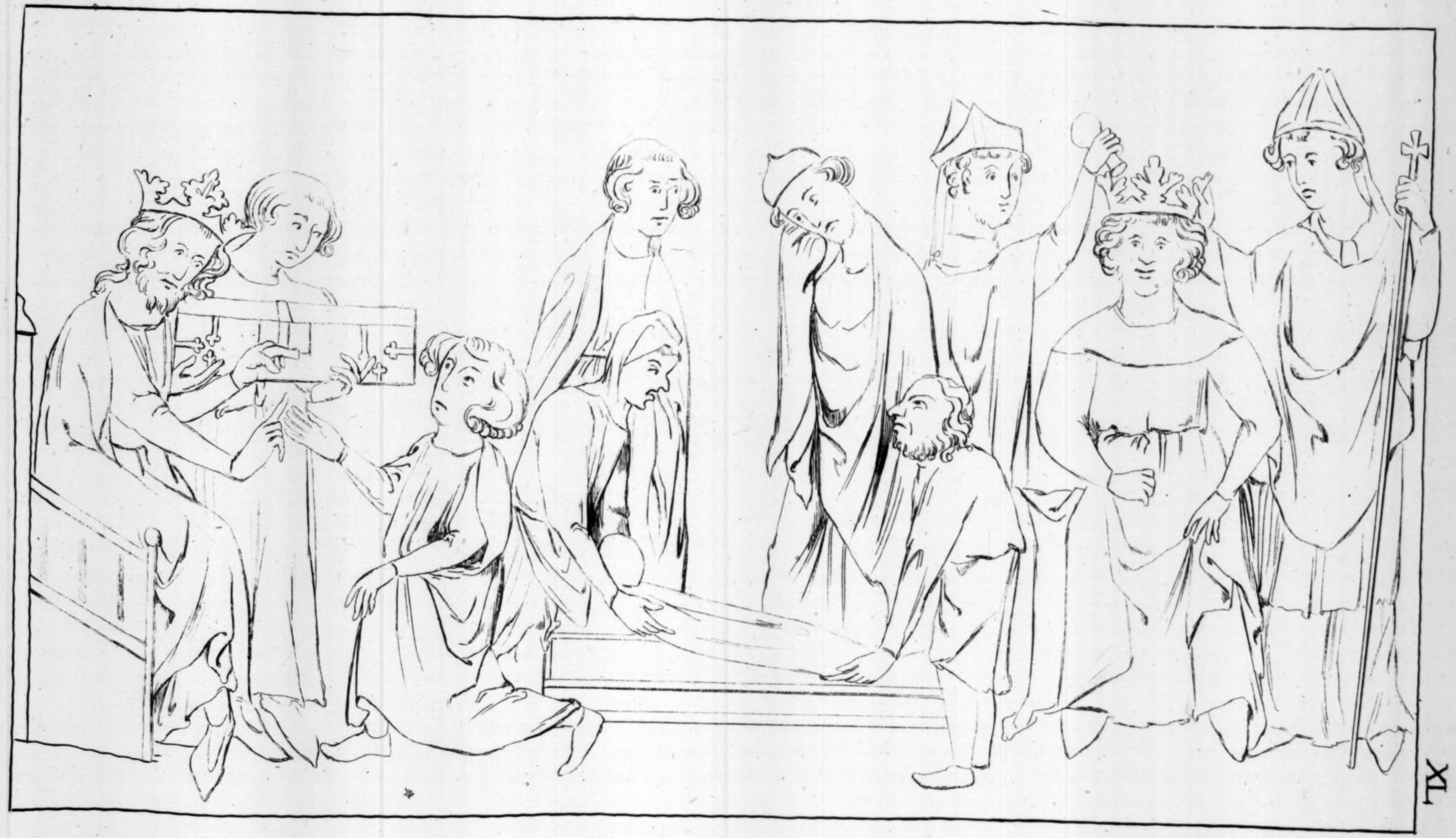


XXXVIII



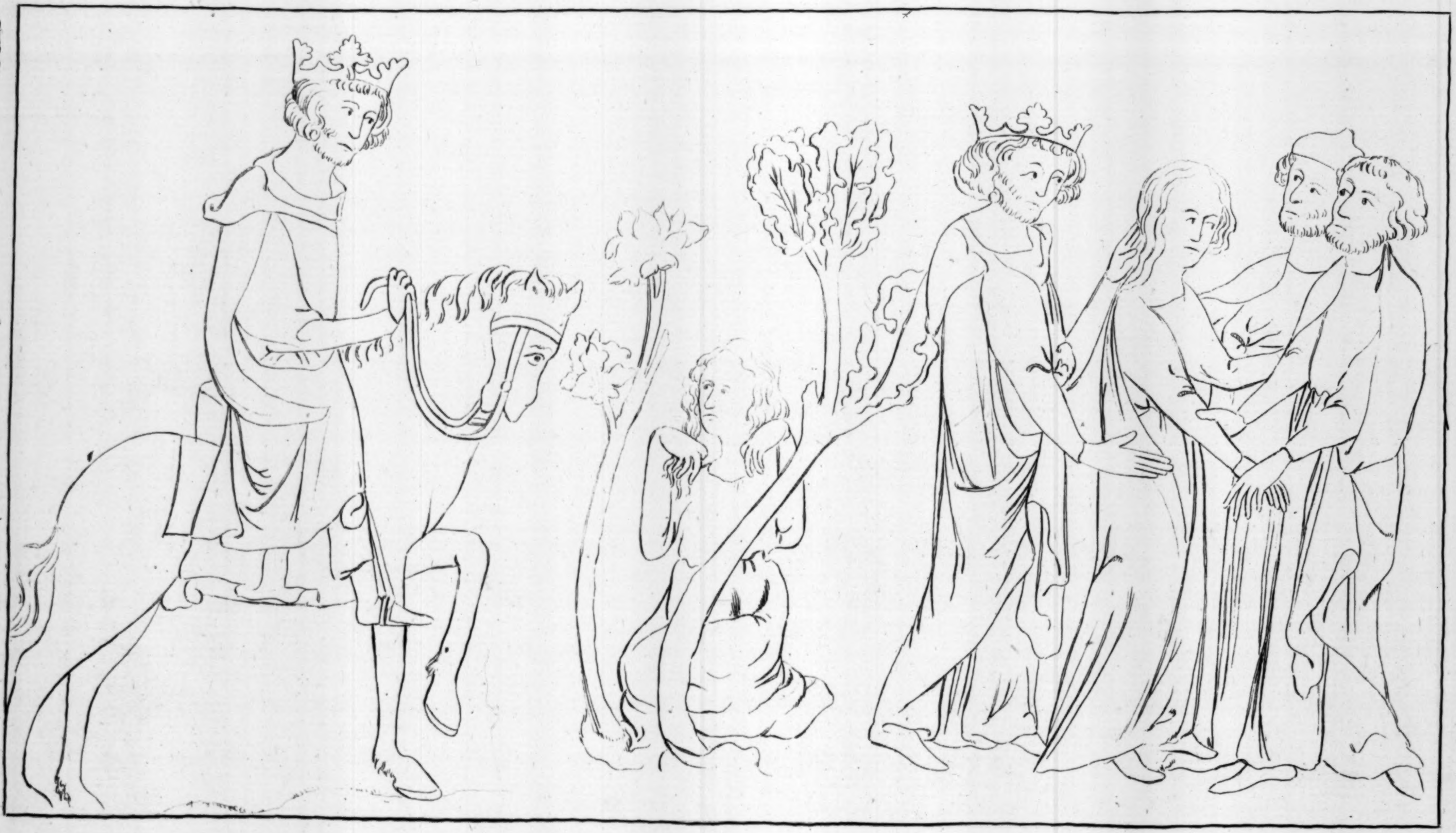
XXXIX





XL

XLI



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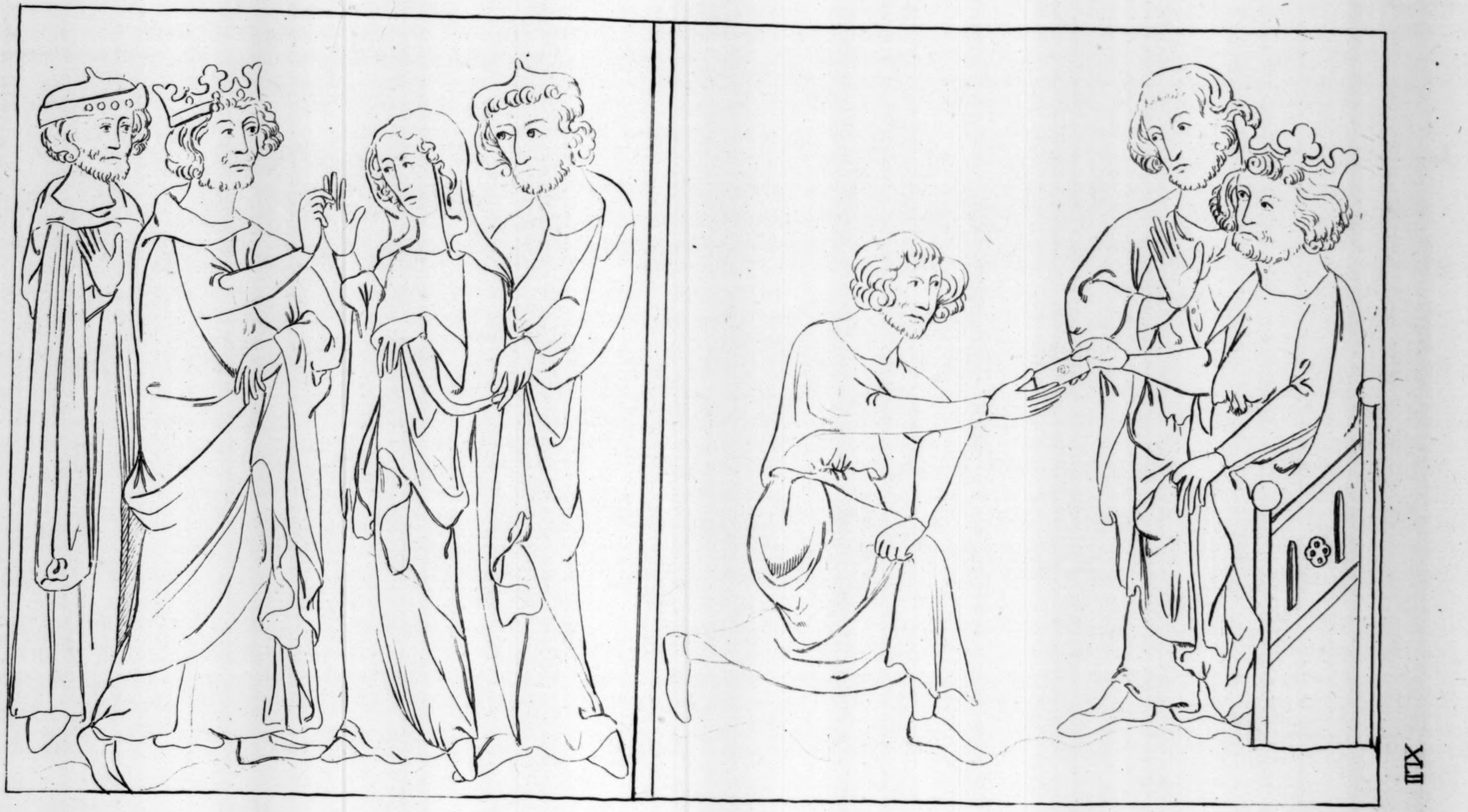

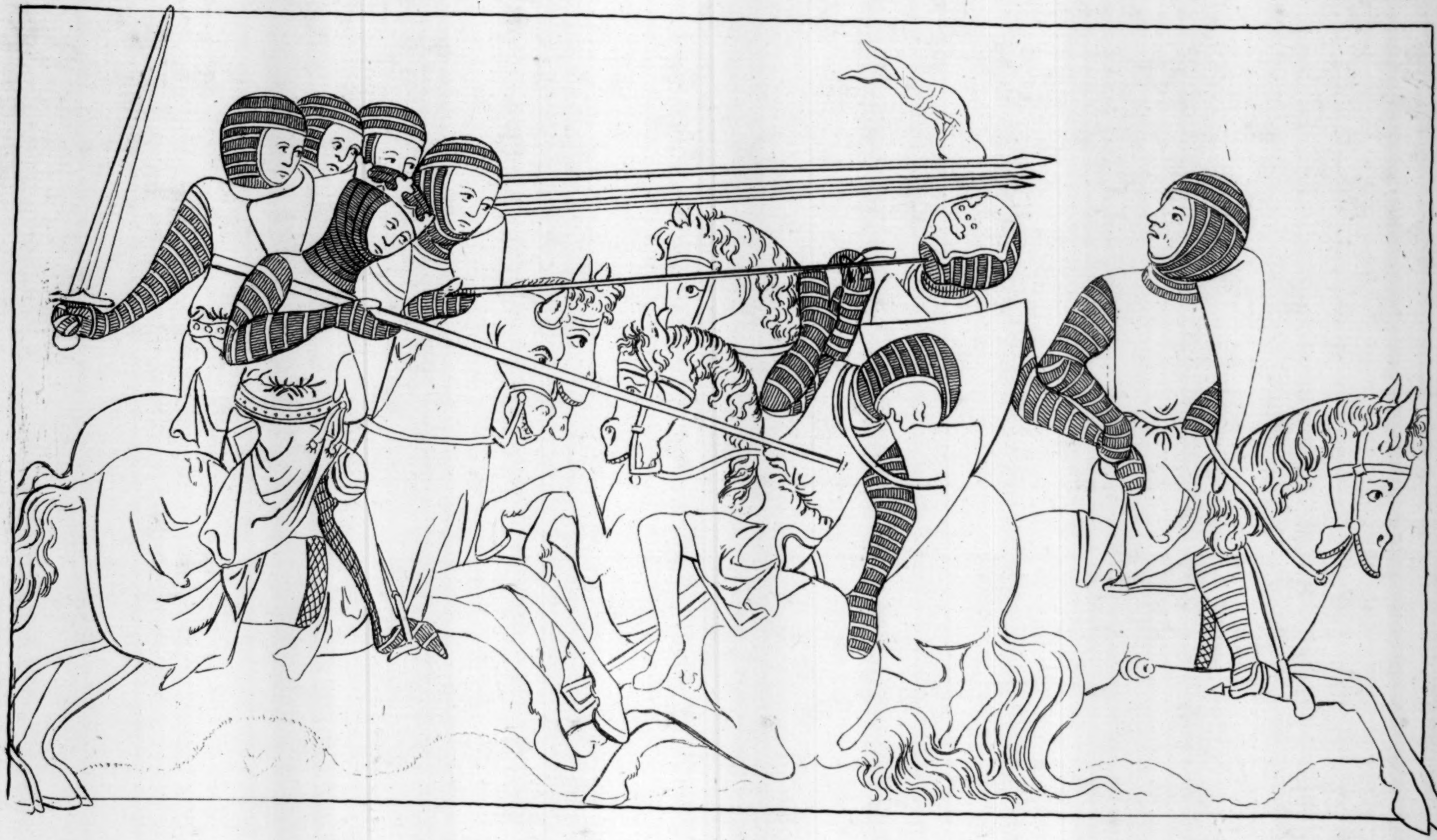

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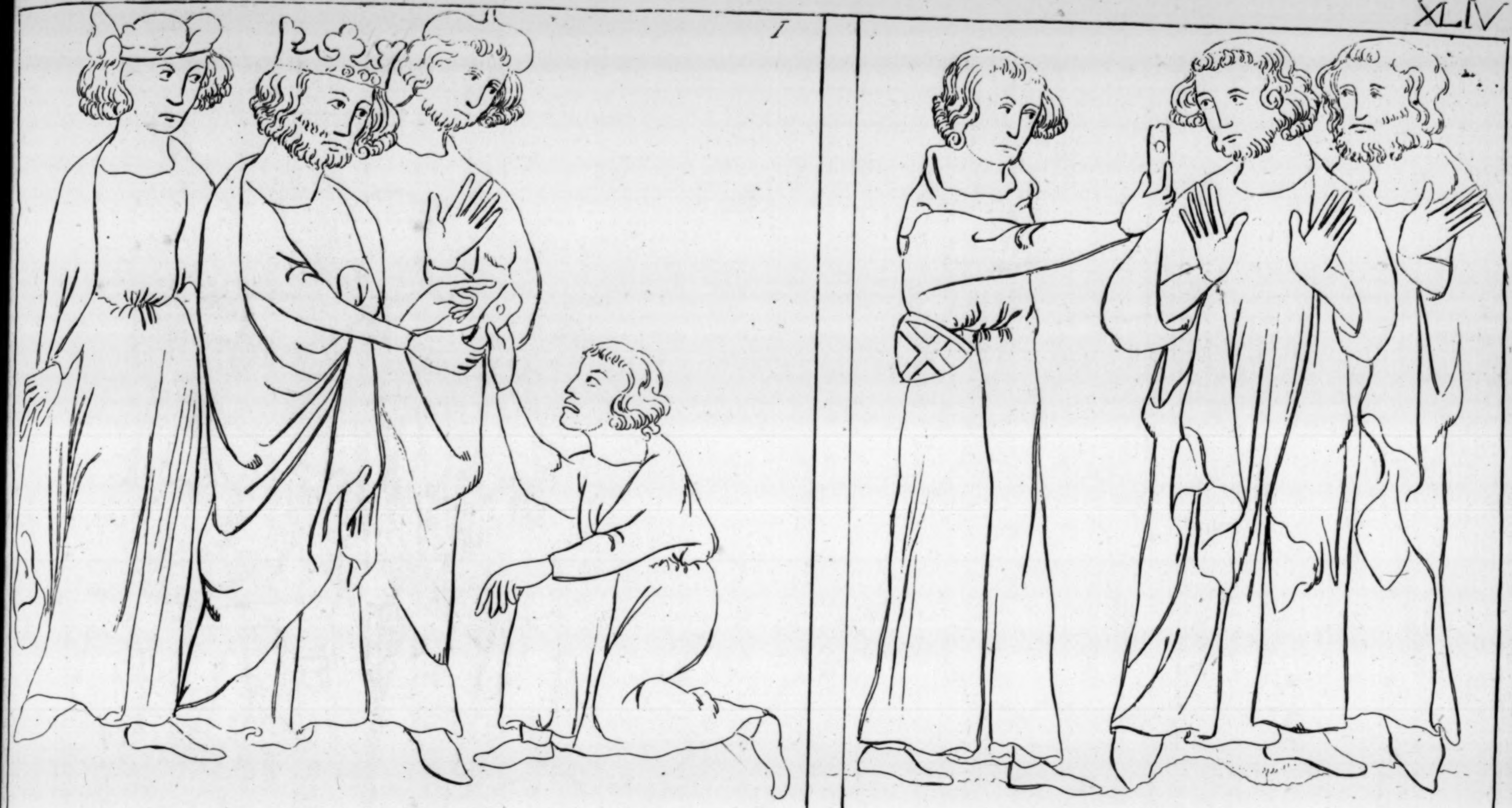
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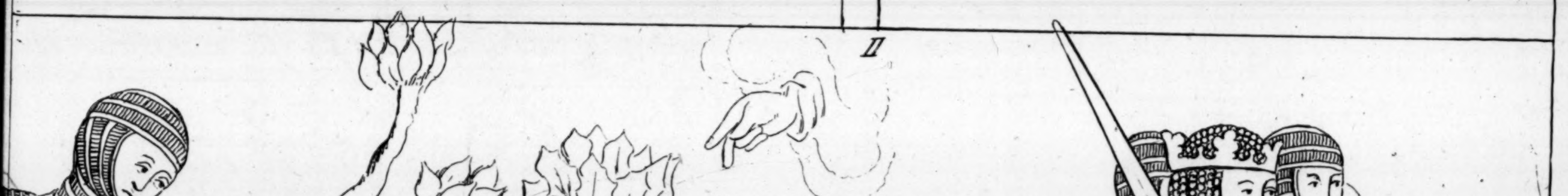
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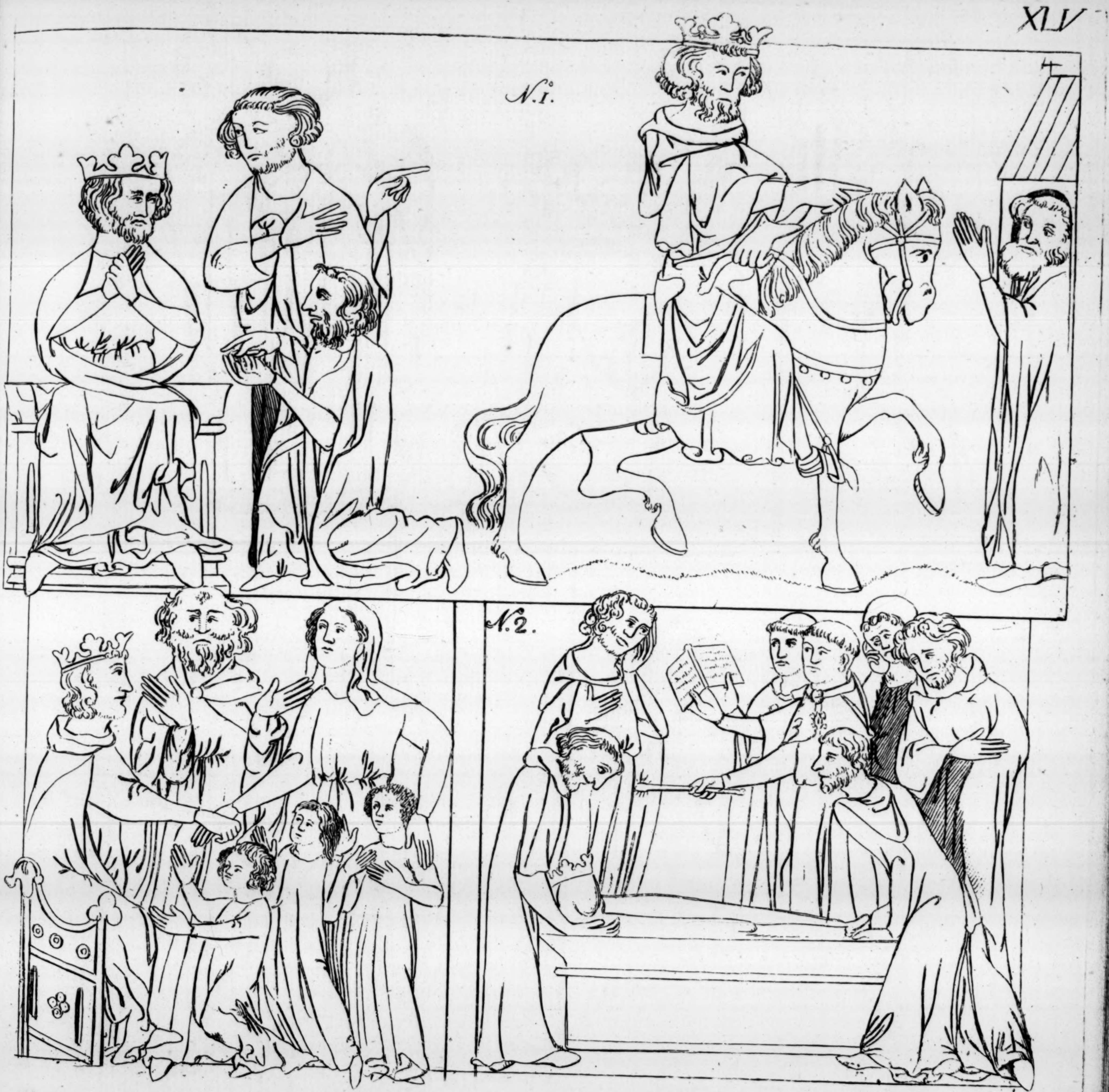
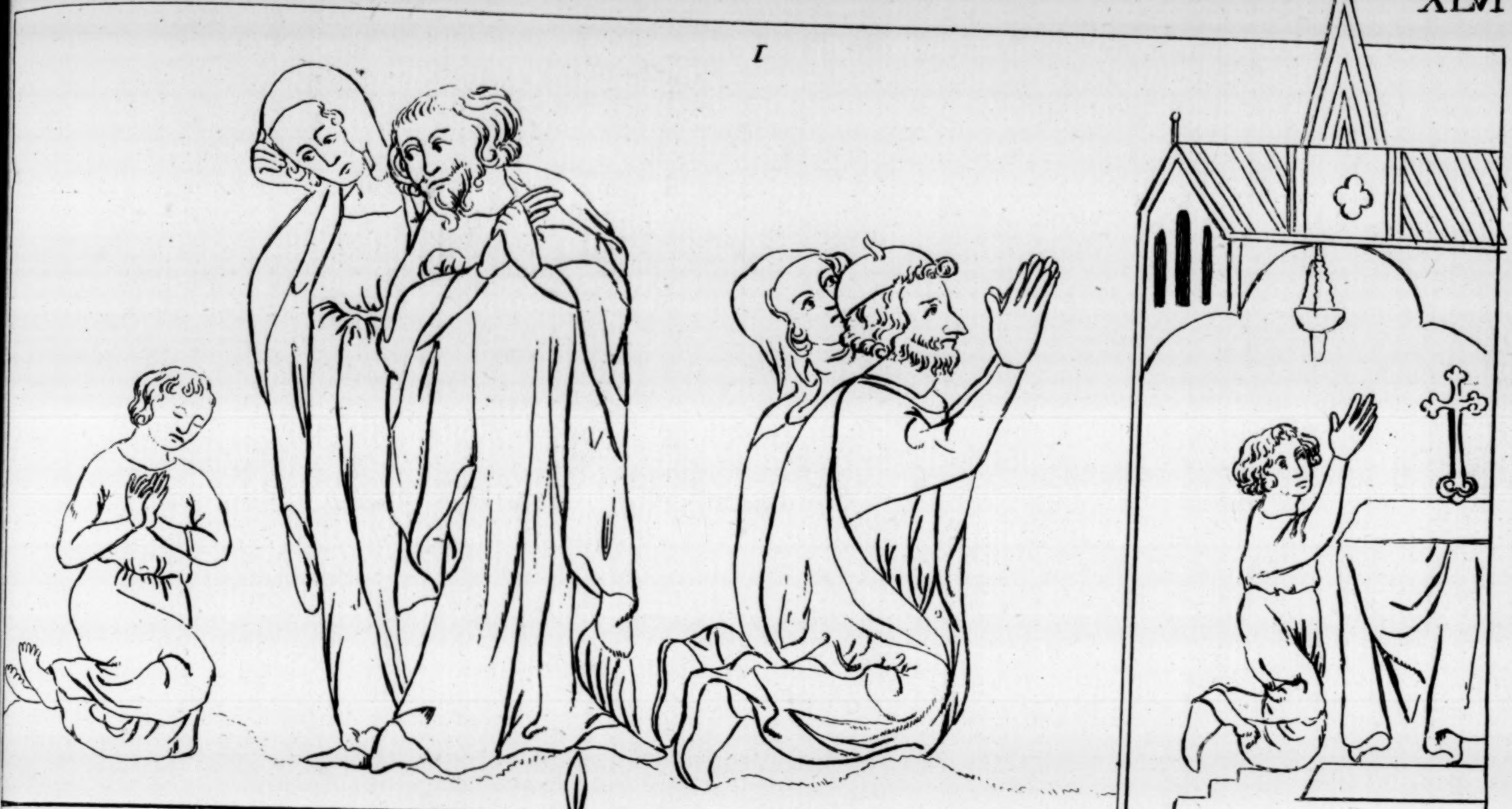

N.1.
N.2.

I



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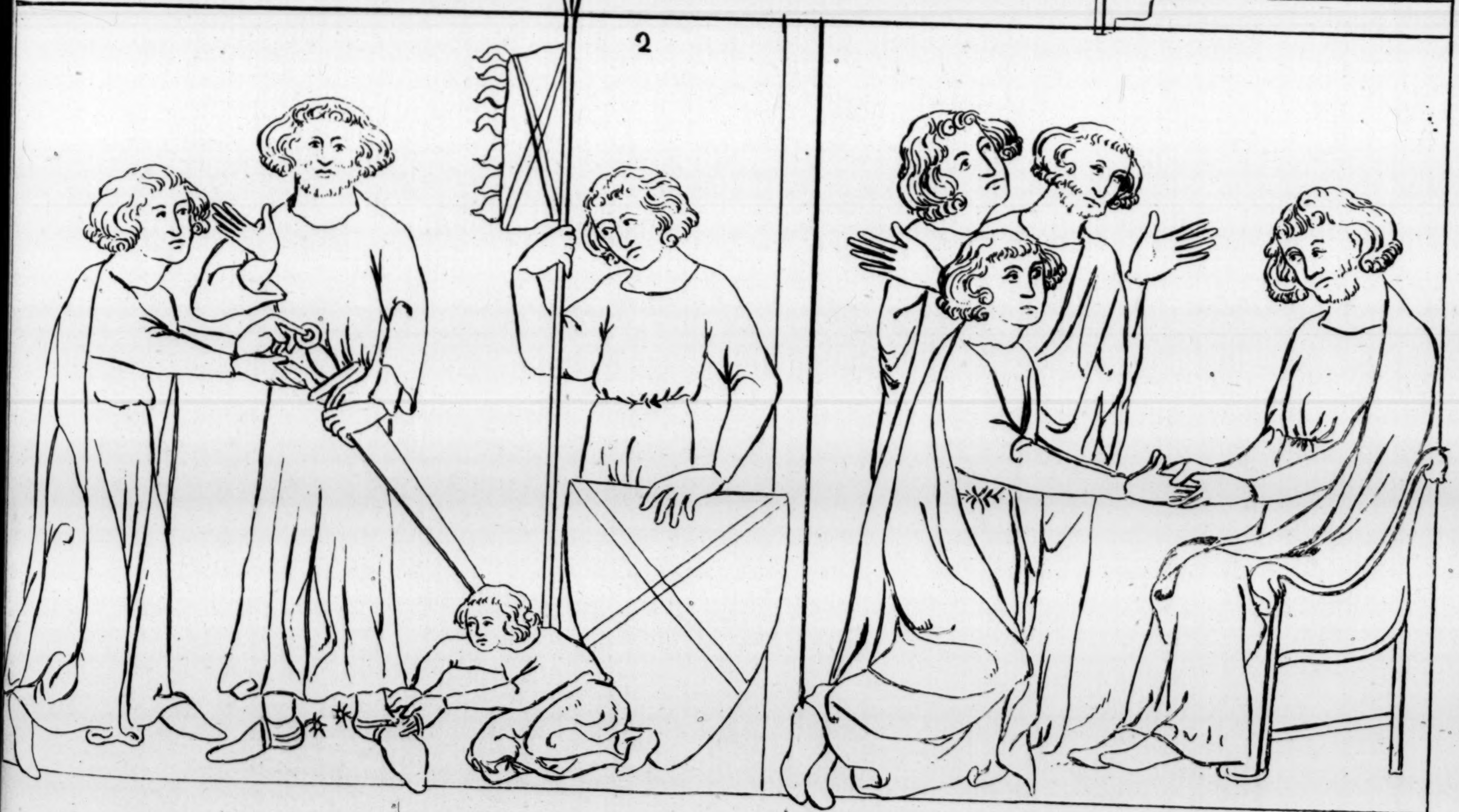

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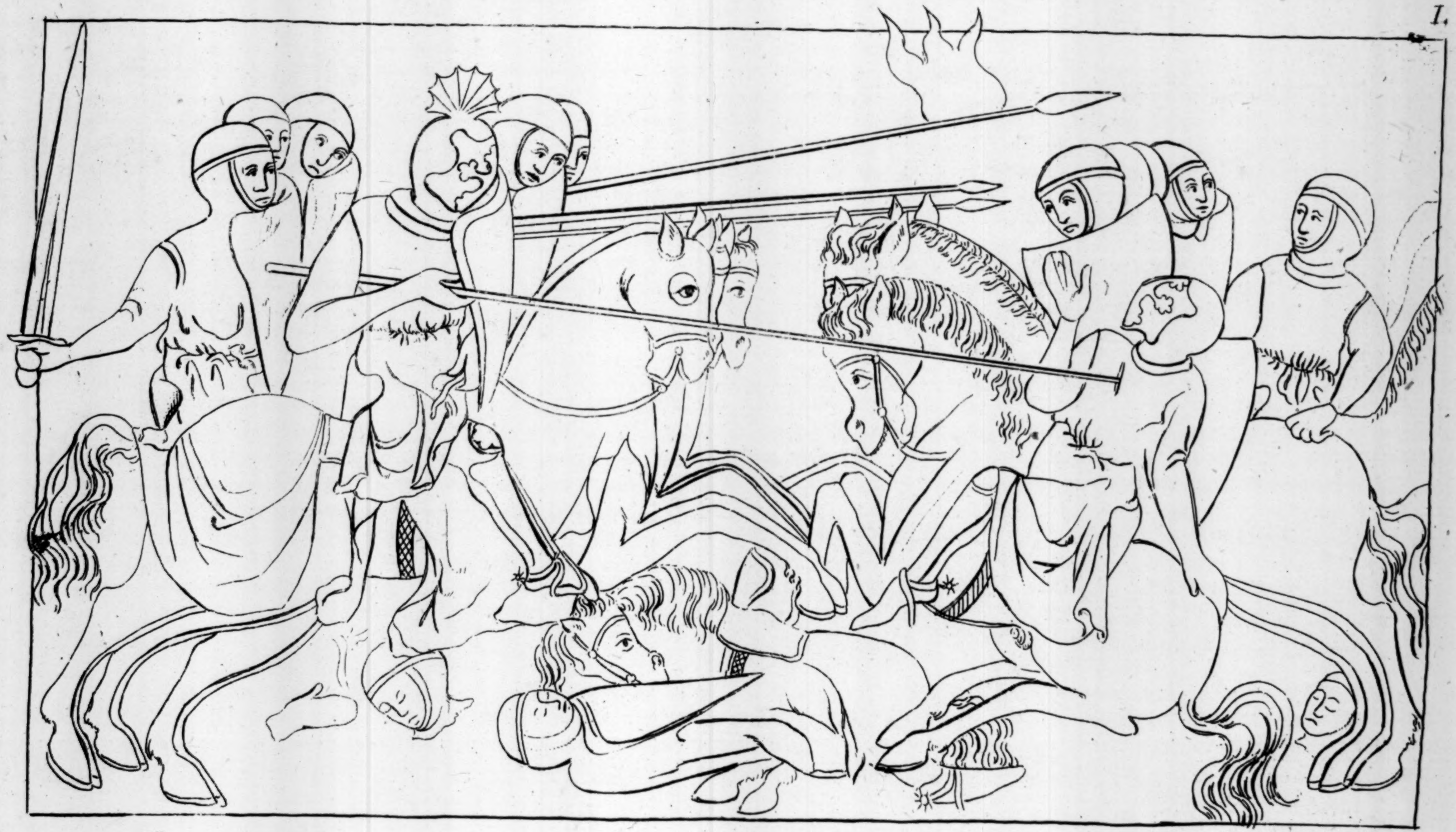

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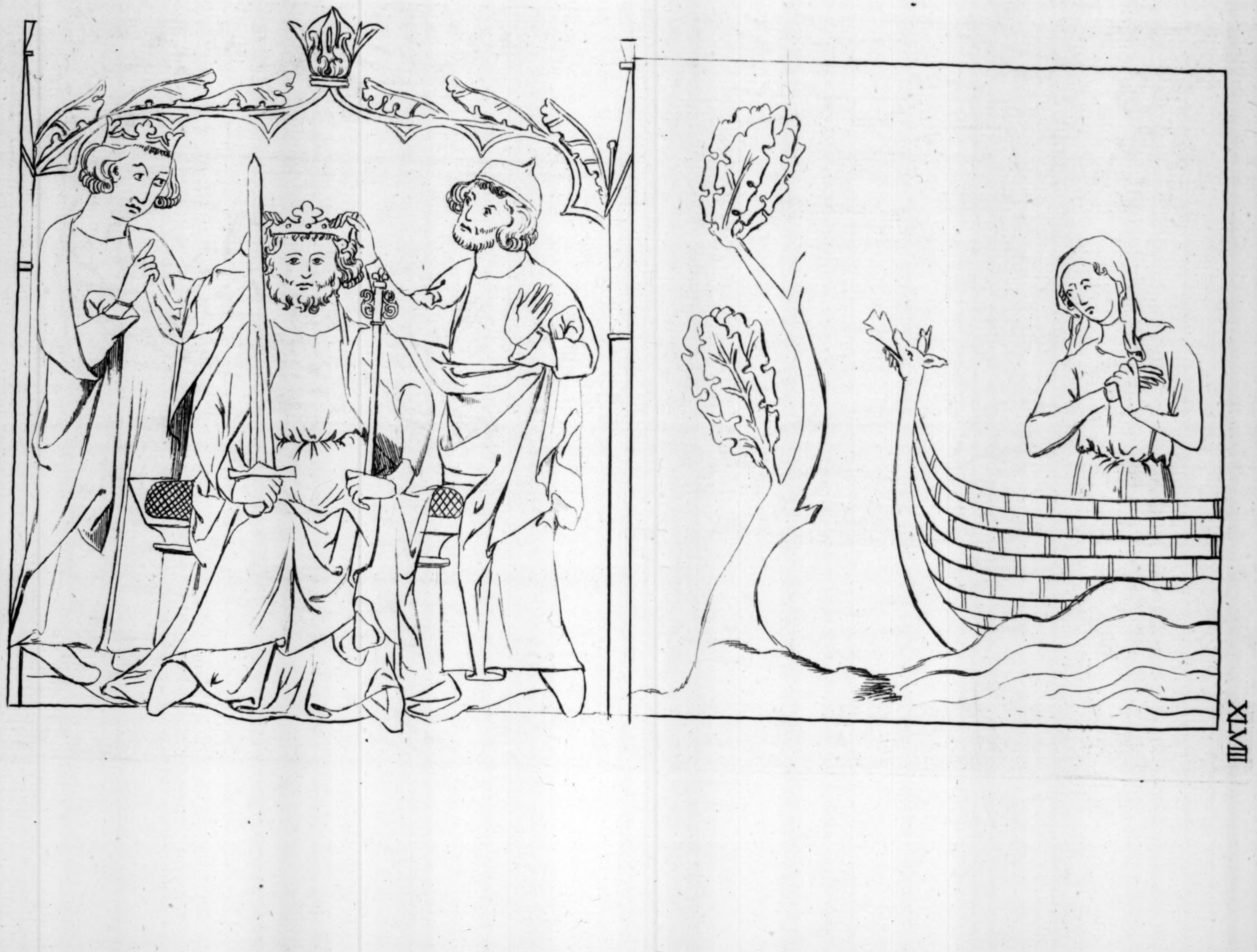

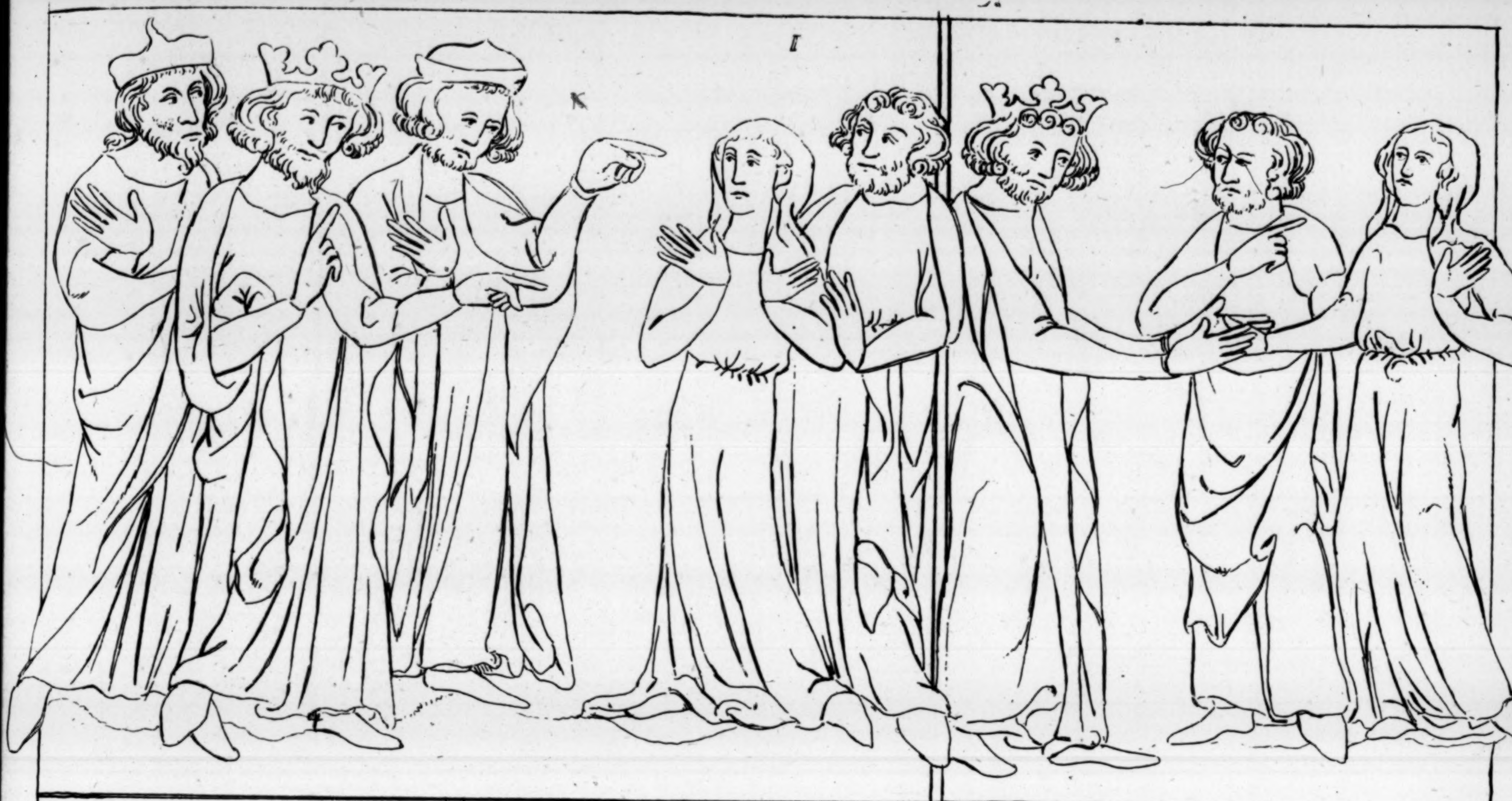
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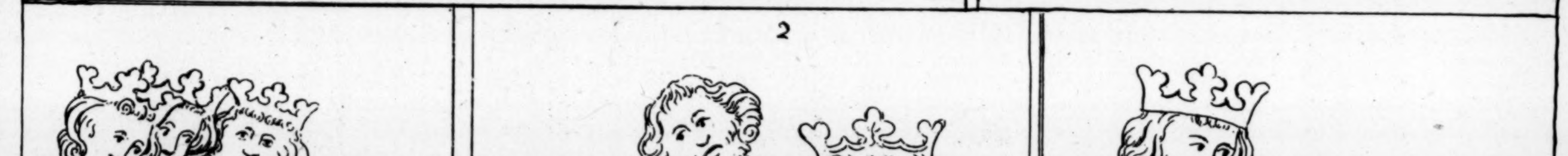
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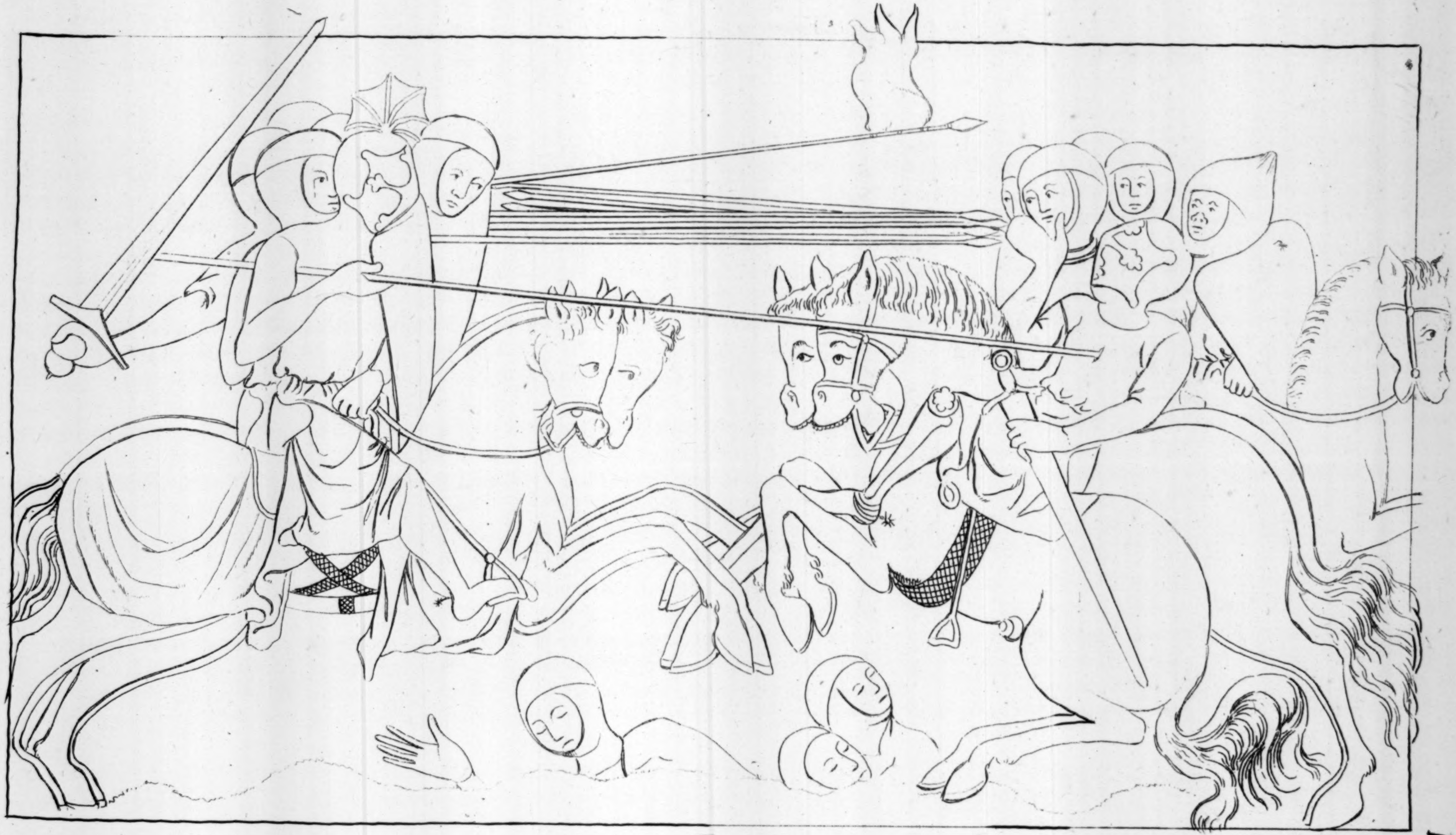
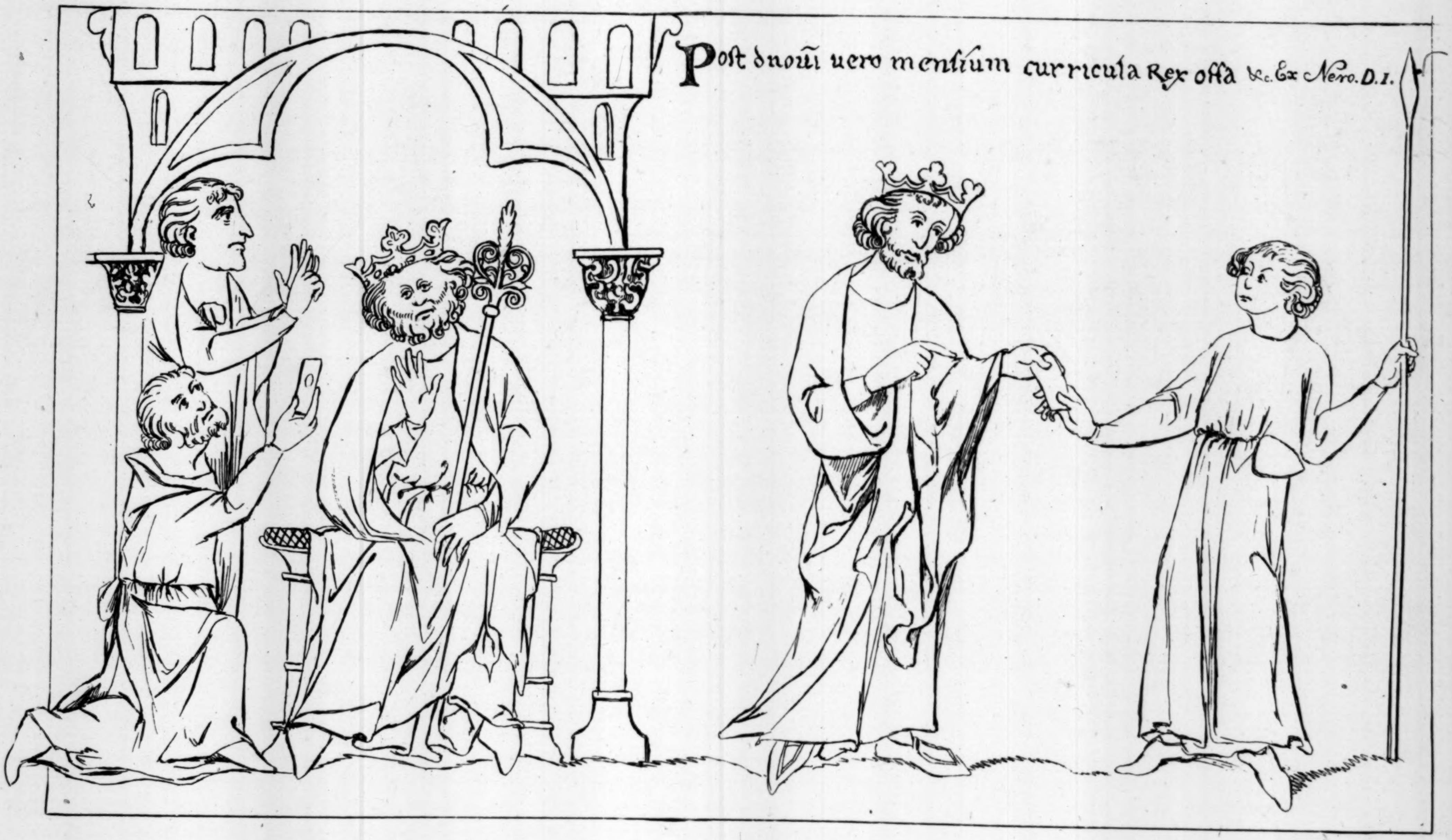
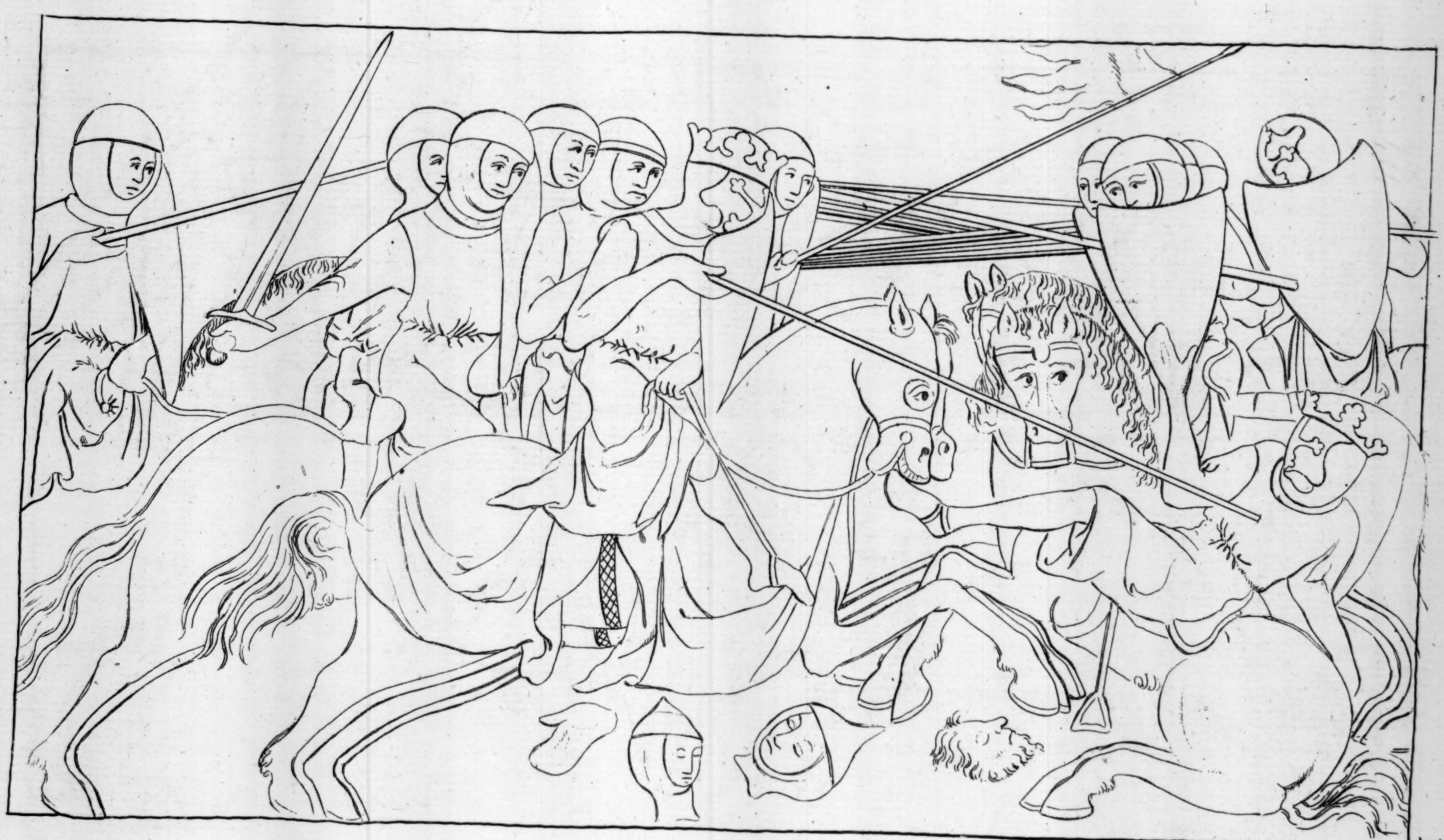


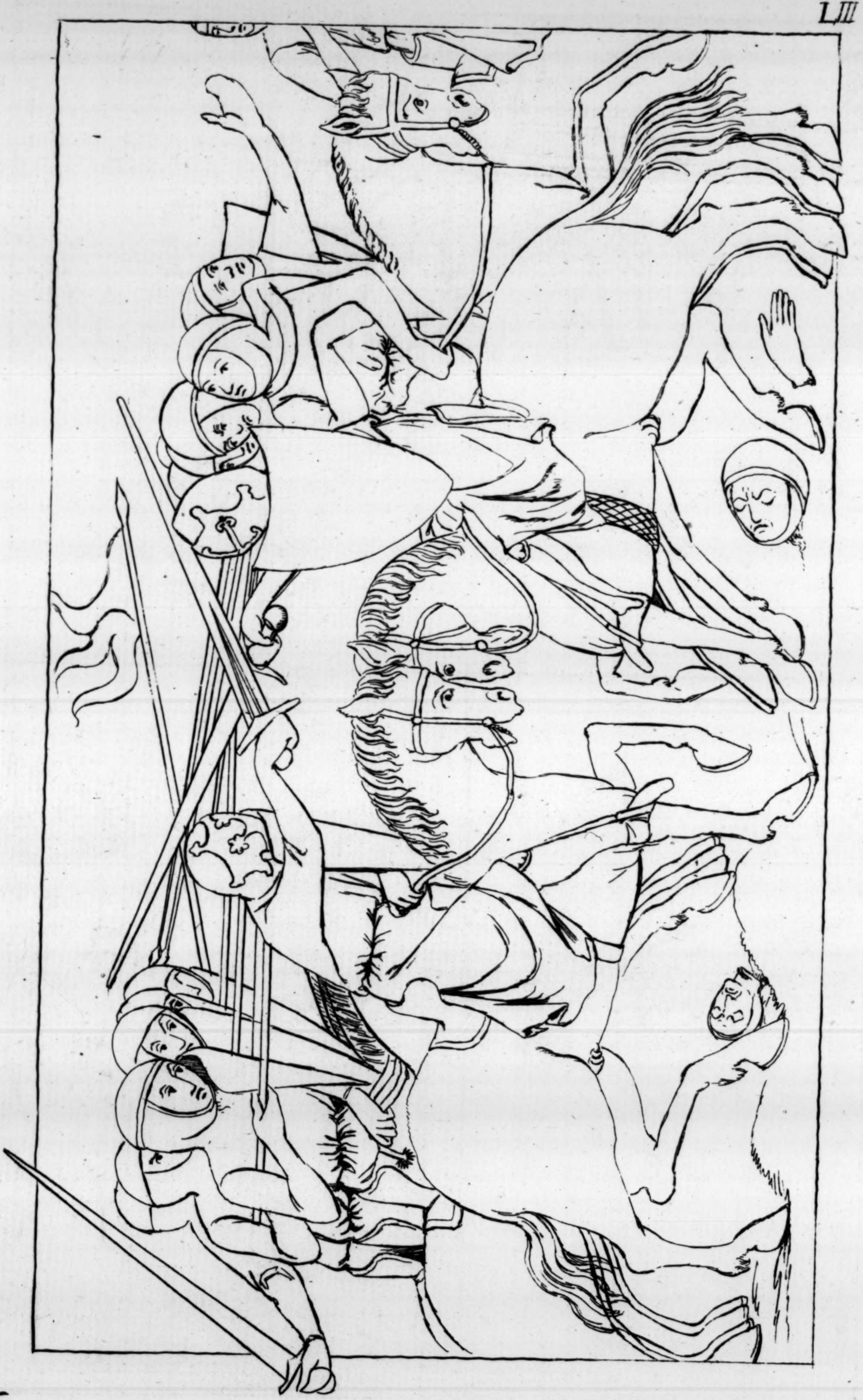


Poſt duorũ uero menſium curricula Rex offa &c. Ex Nero. D. I.



LII

LIII



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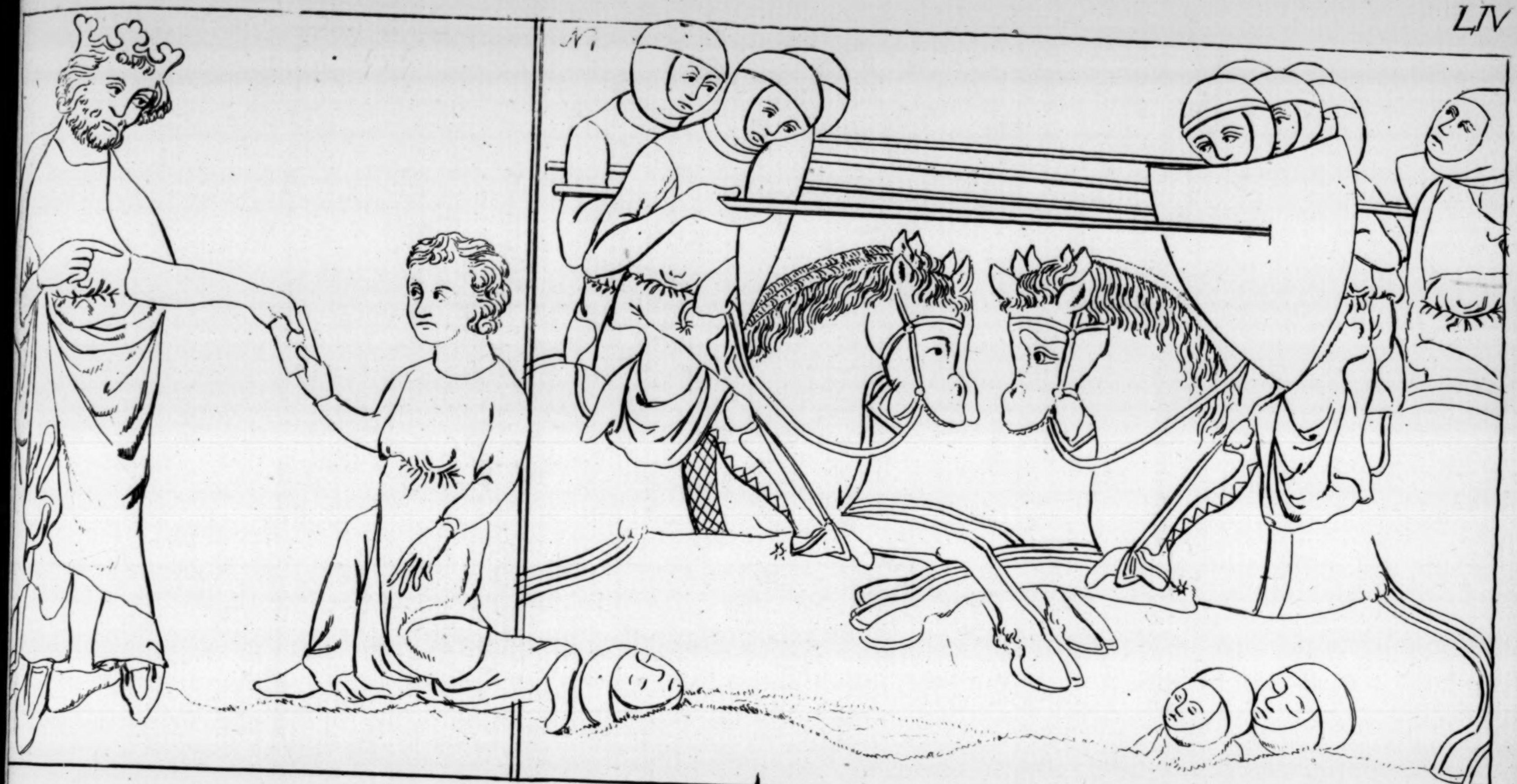

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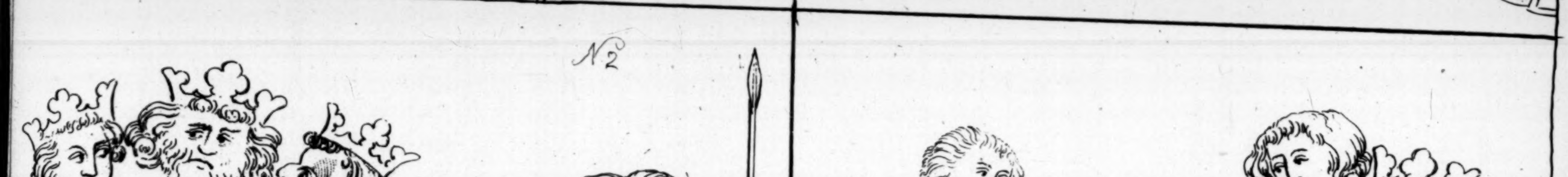
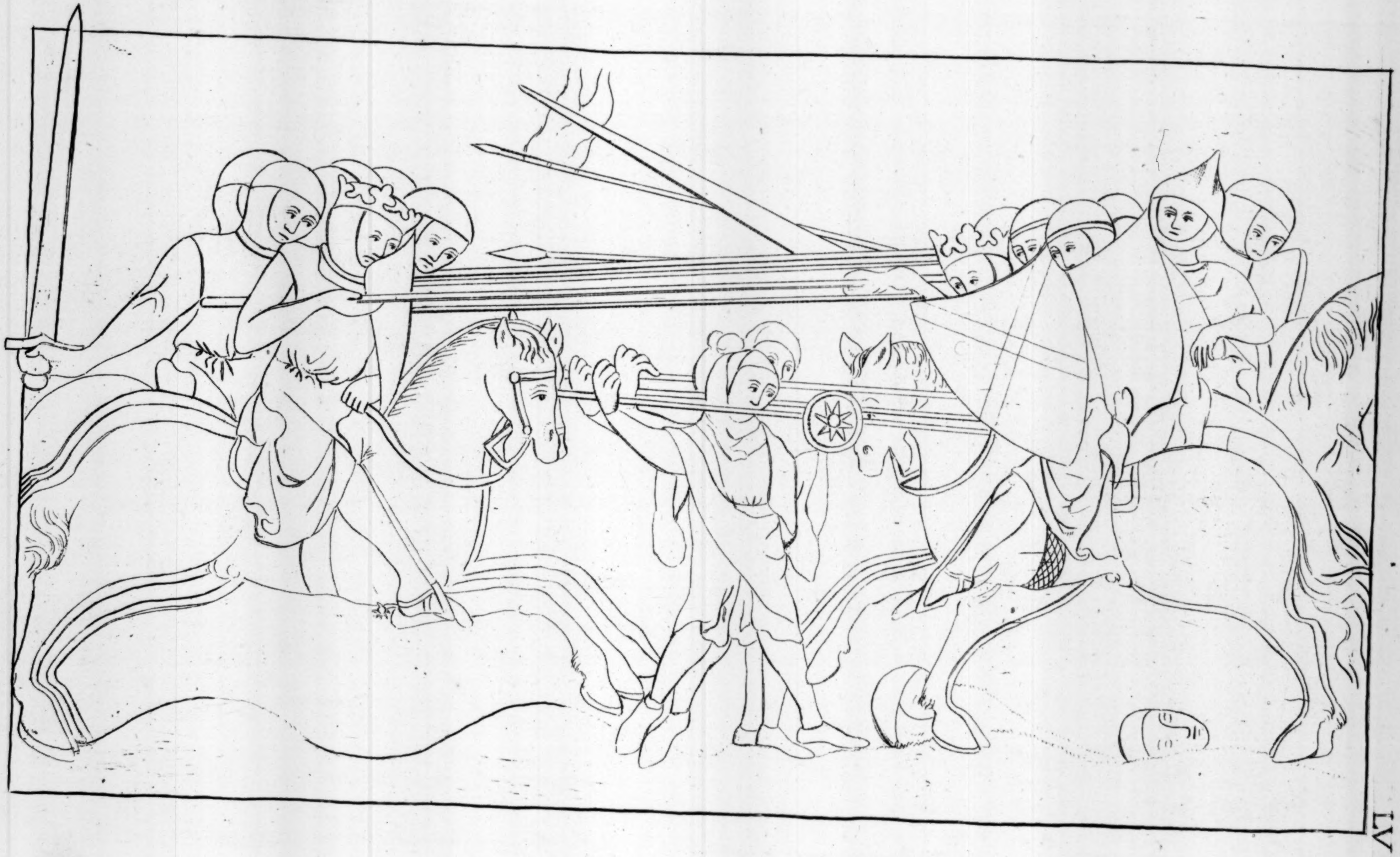
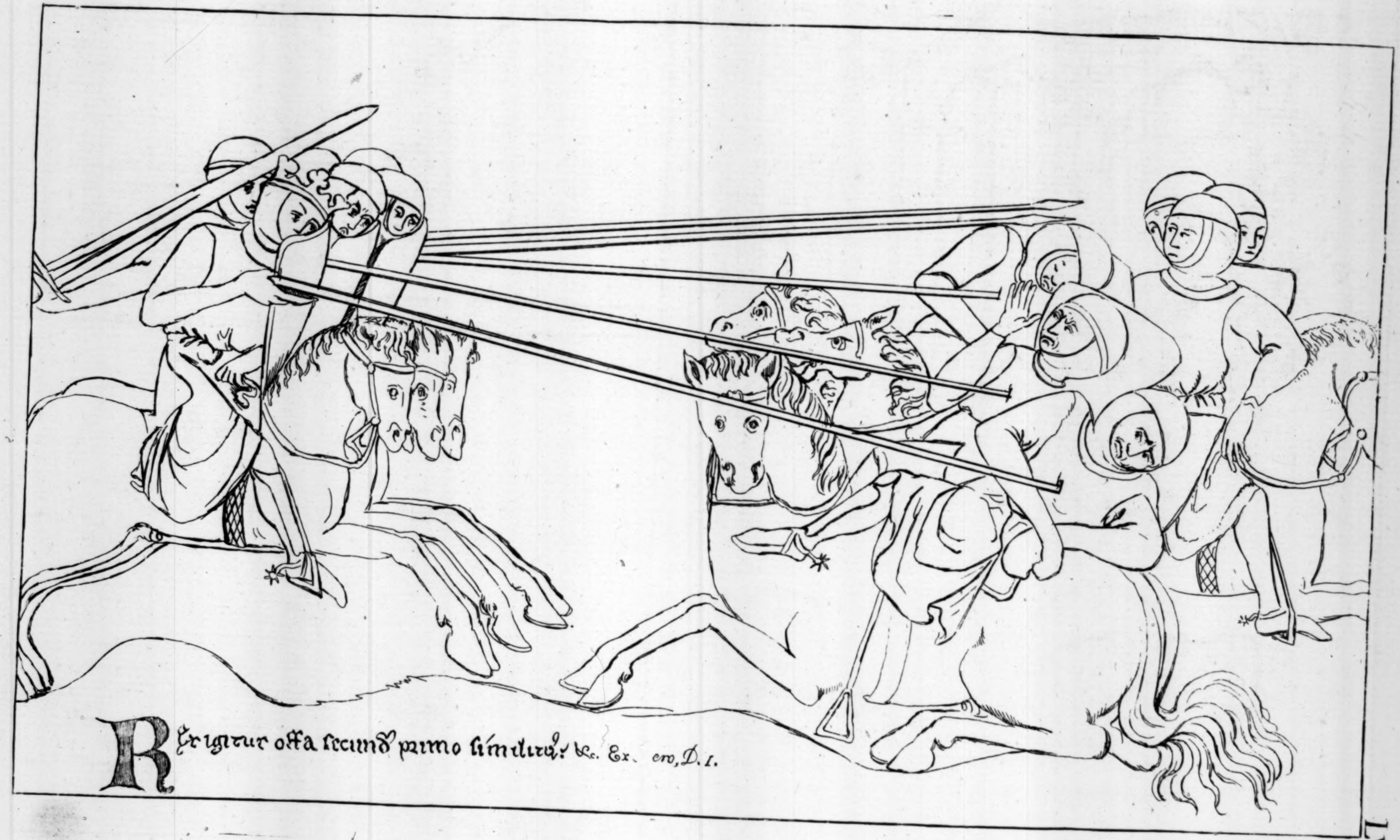


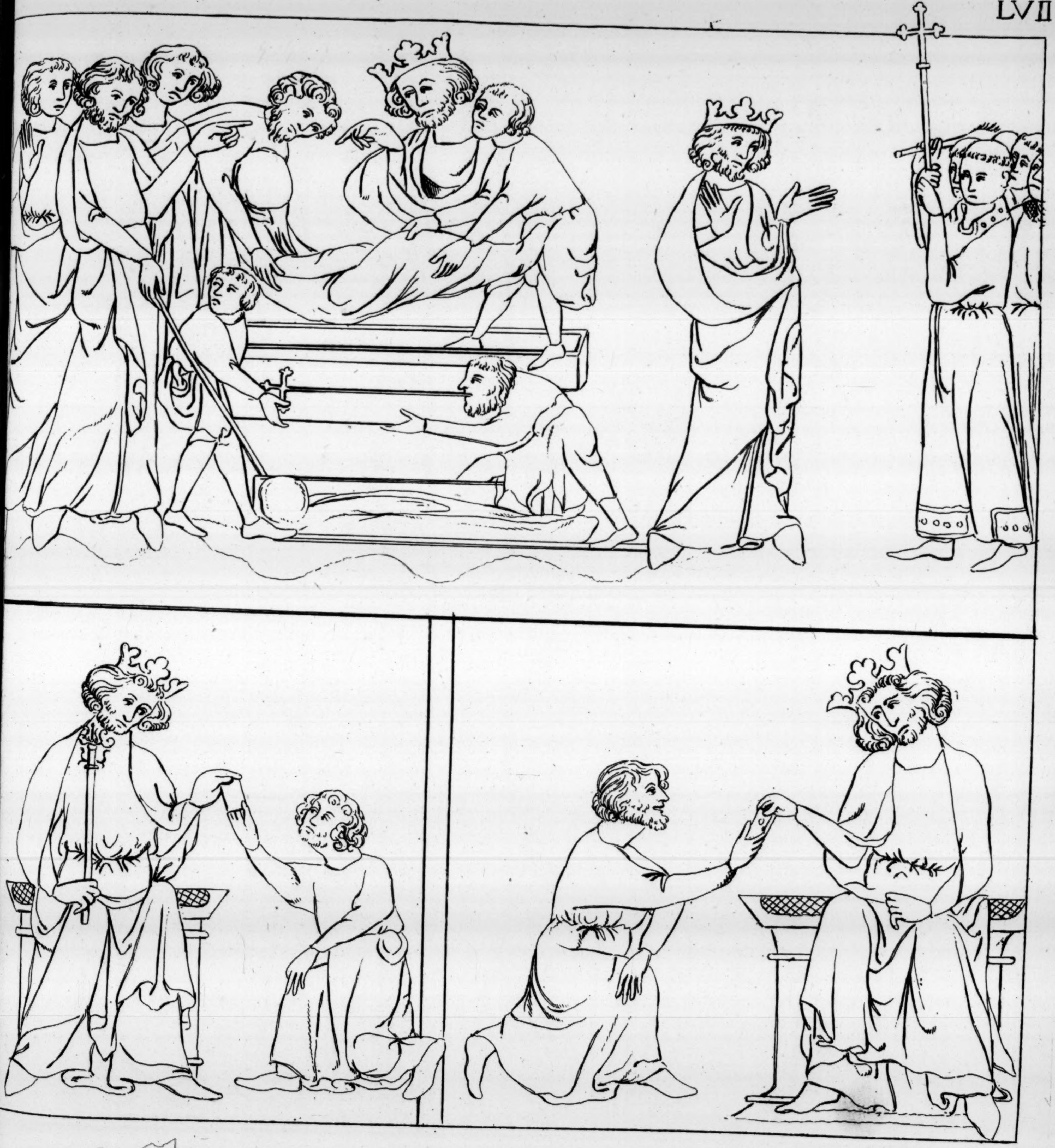


LV



Rex igitur offa ſecundꝰ primo ſimiliter: &c. Ex. cro, D. I.

LVII



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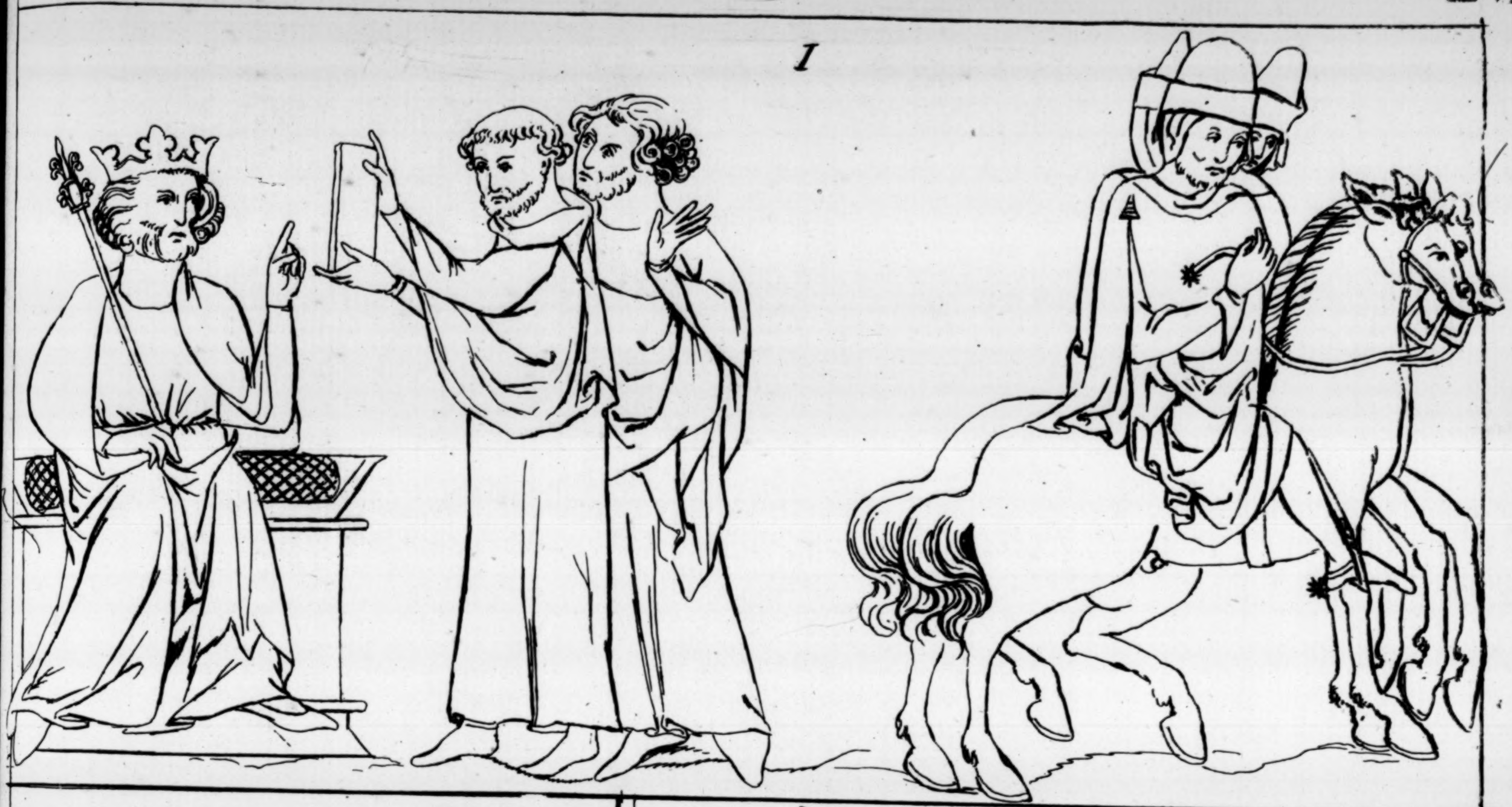
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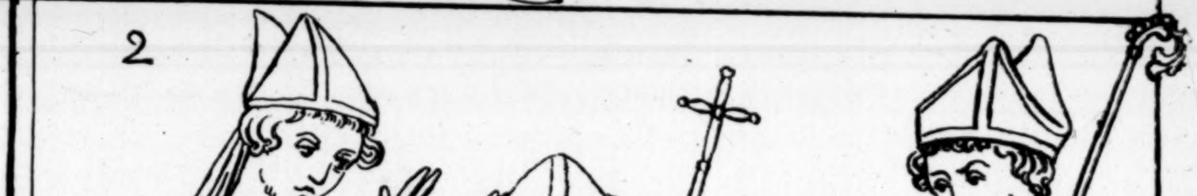
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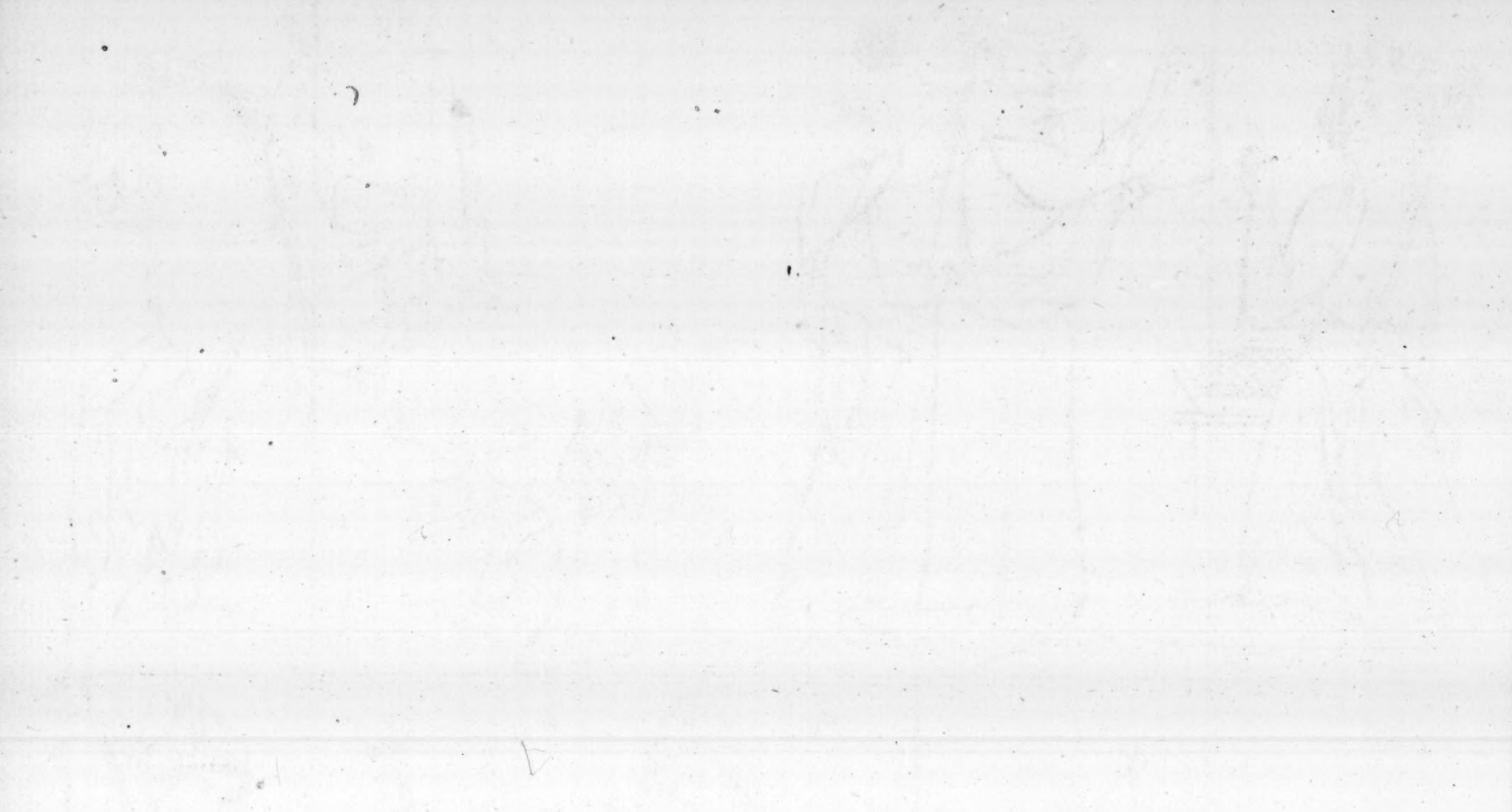
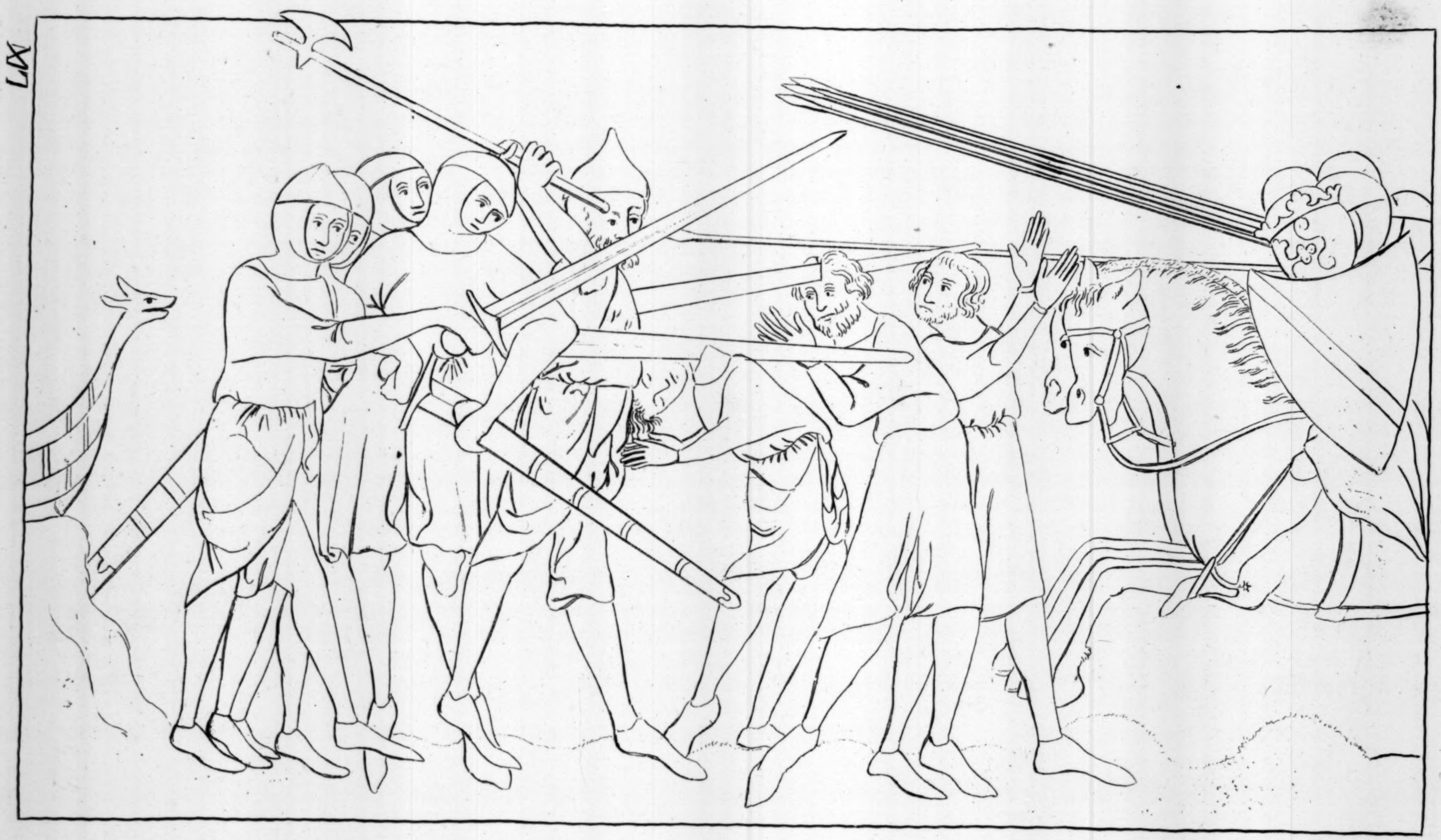
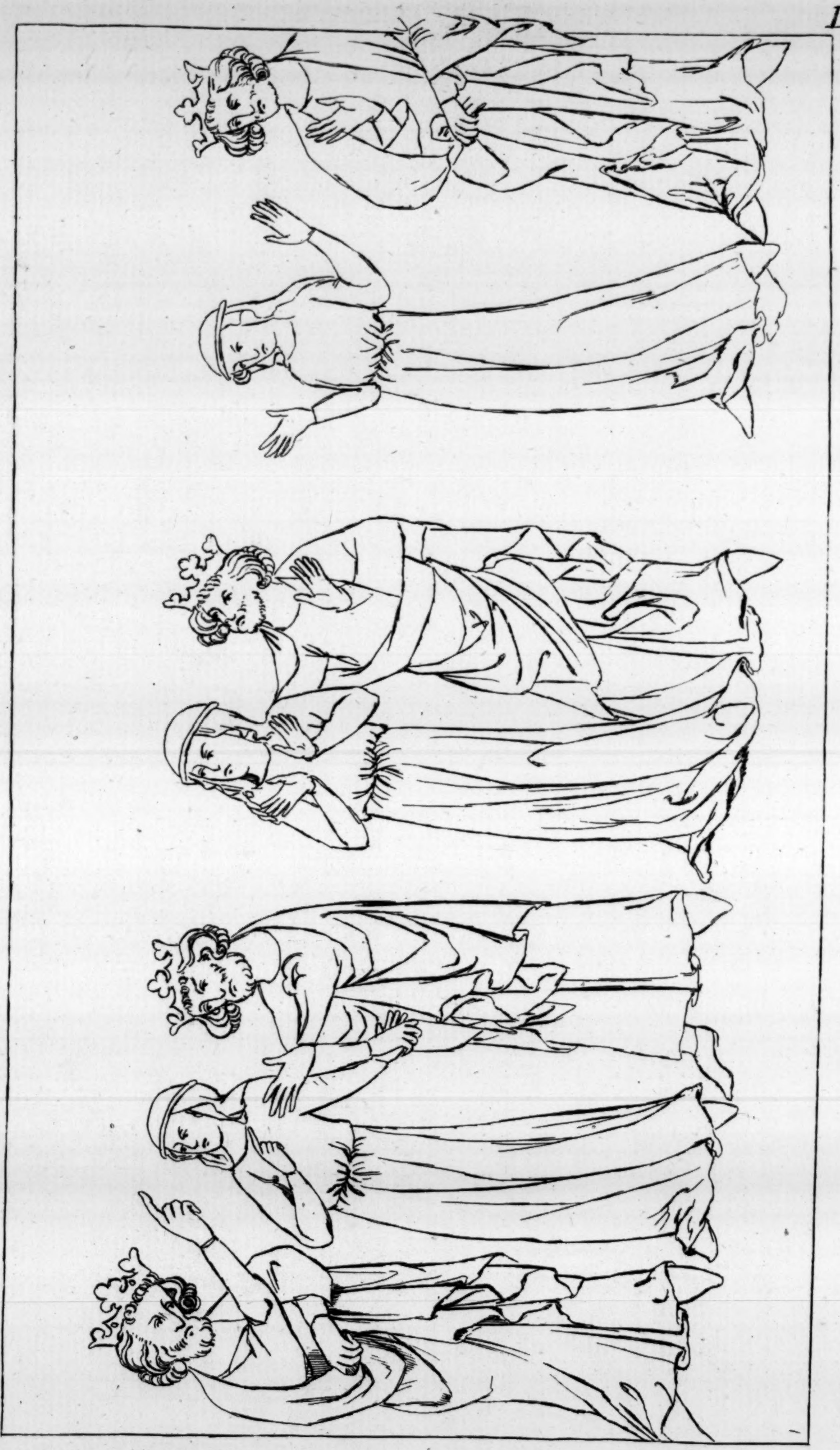
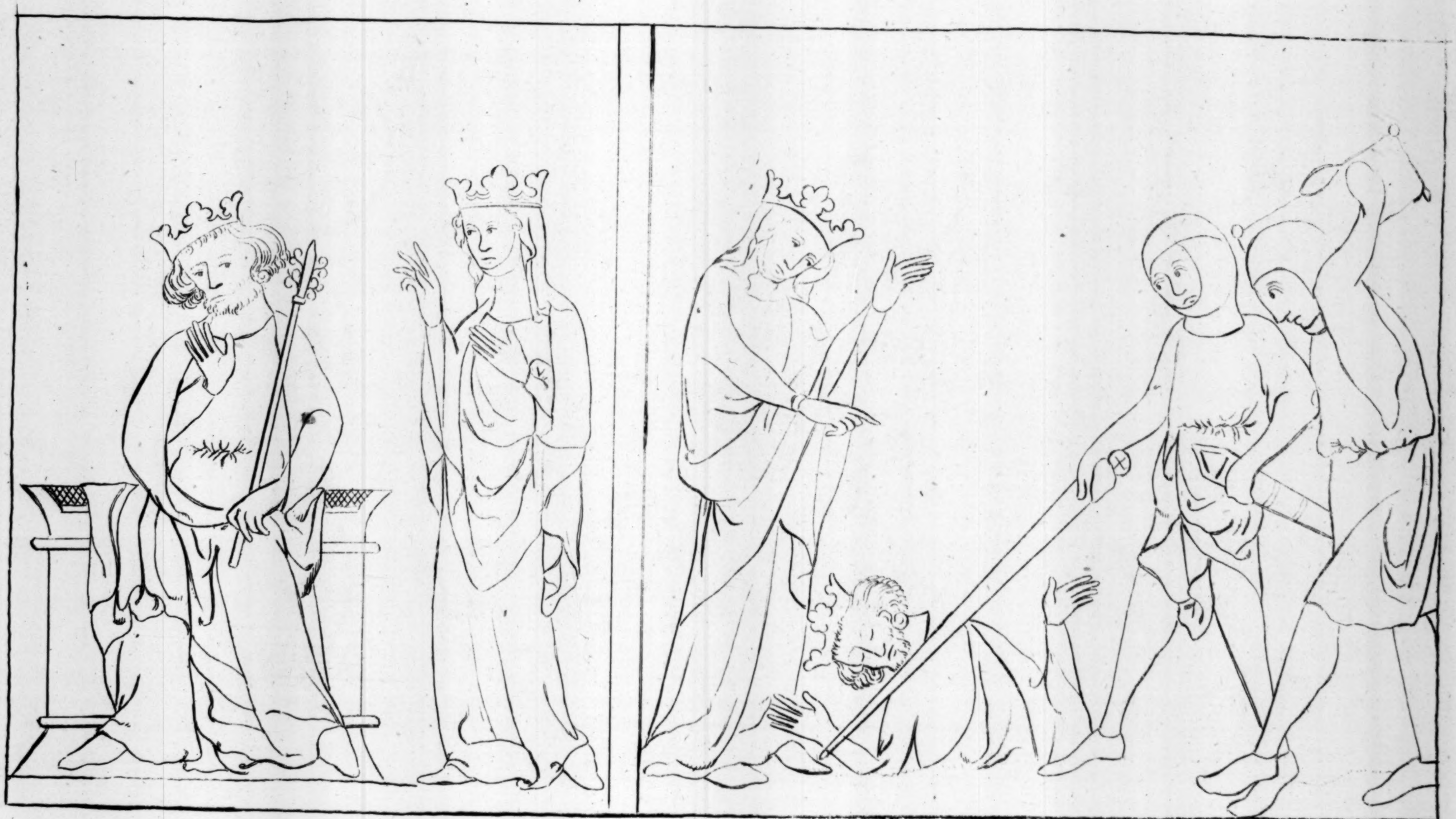


LIX

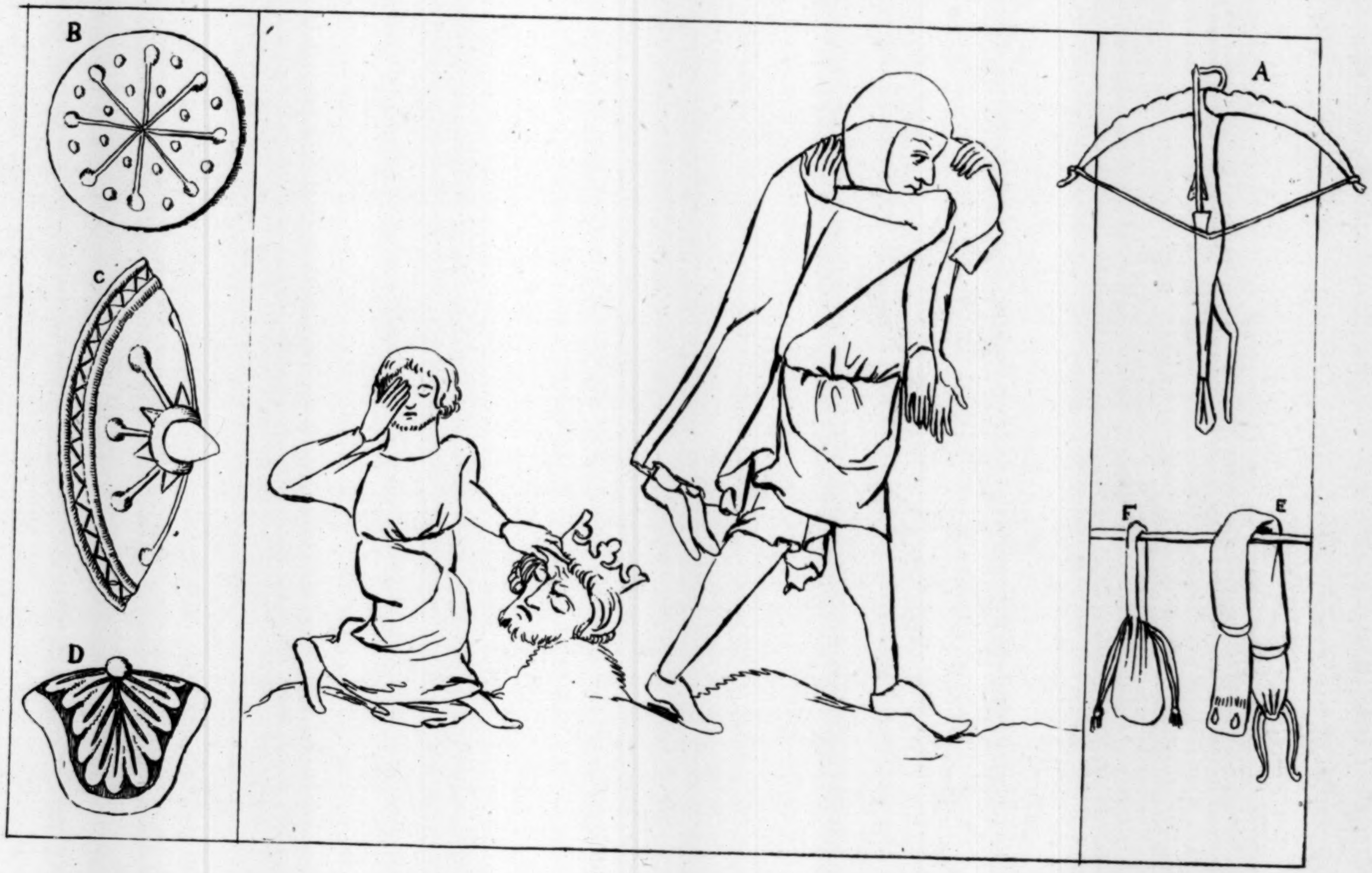


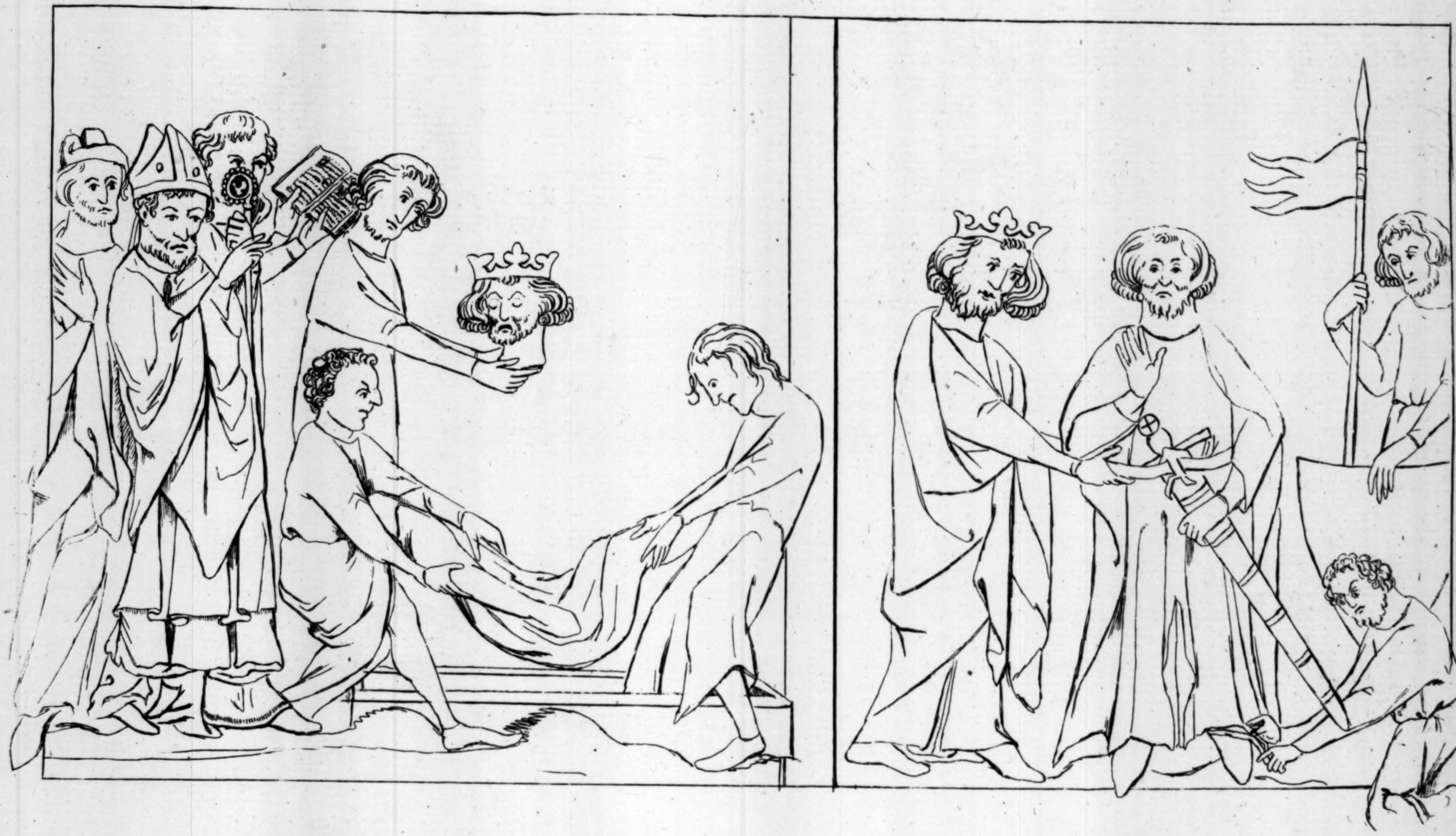




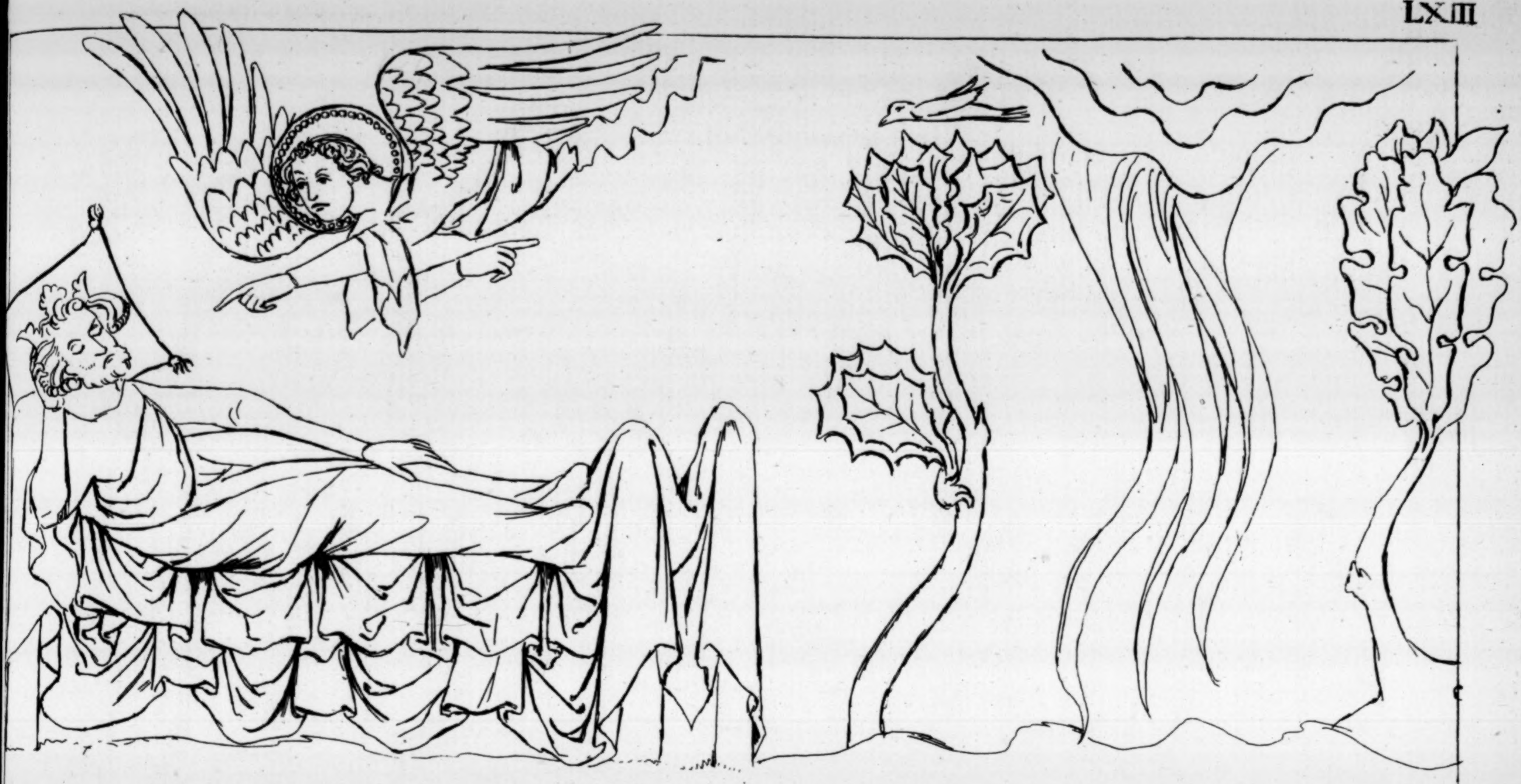
LXI

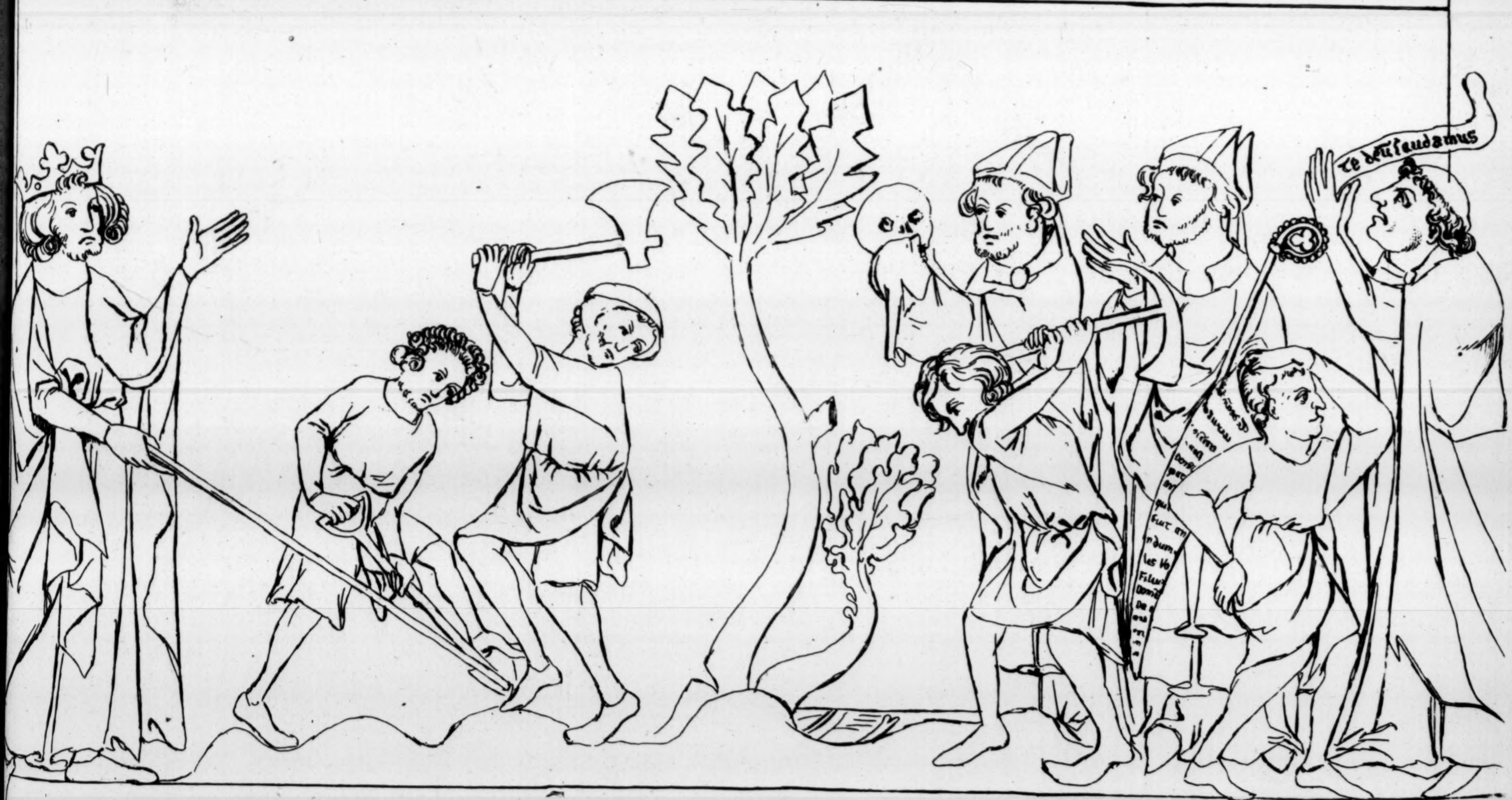
LXII N°1





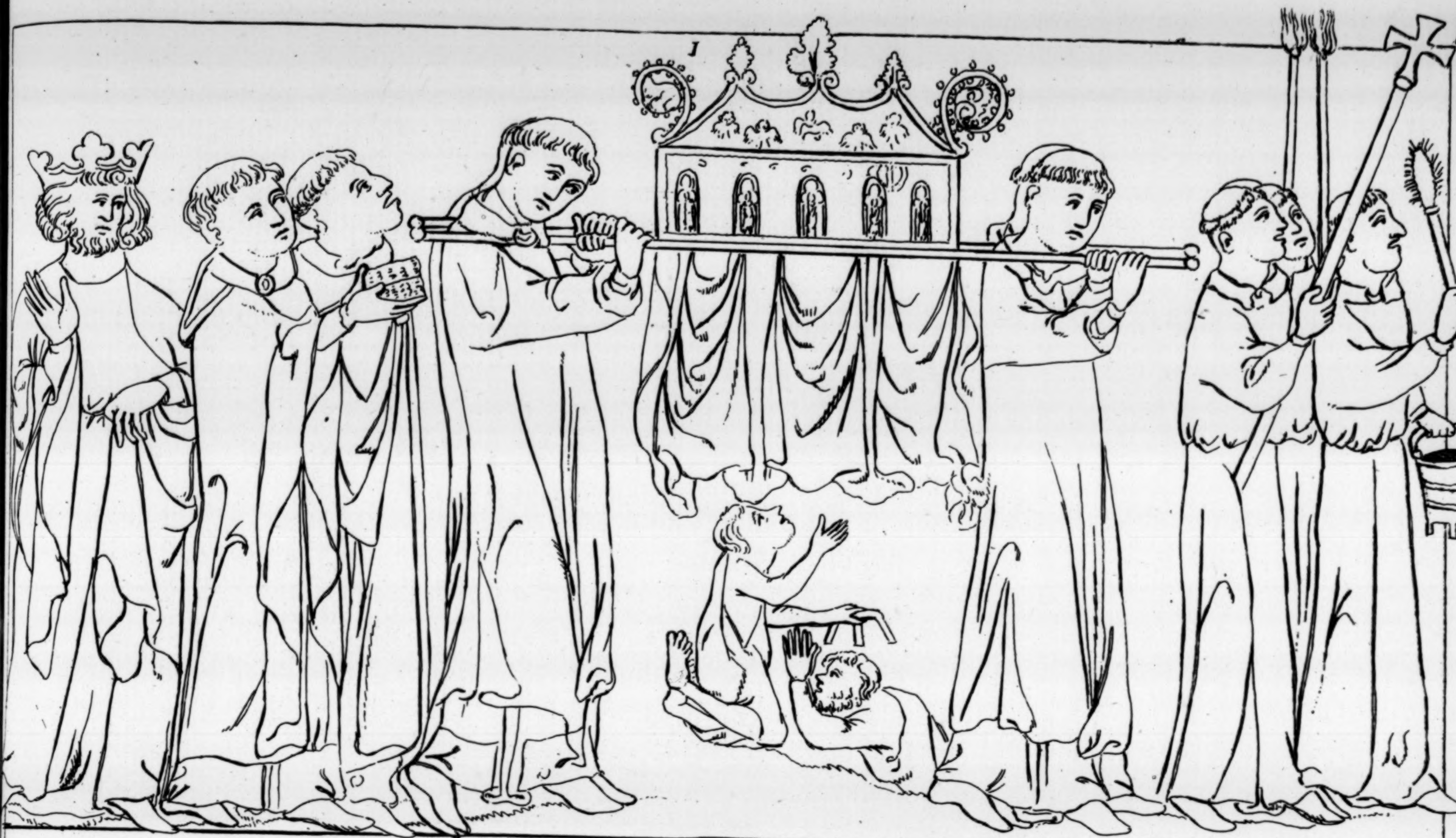
LXII N° 2





Te deũ laudamus

1



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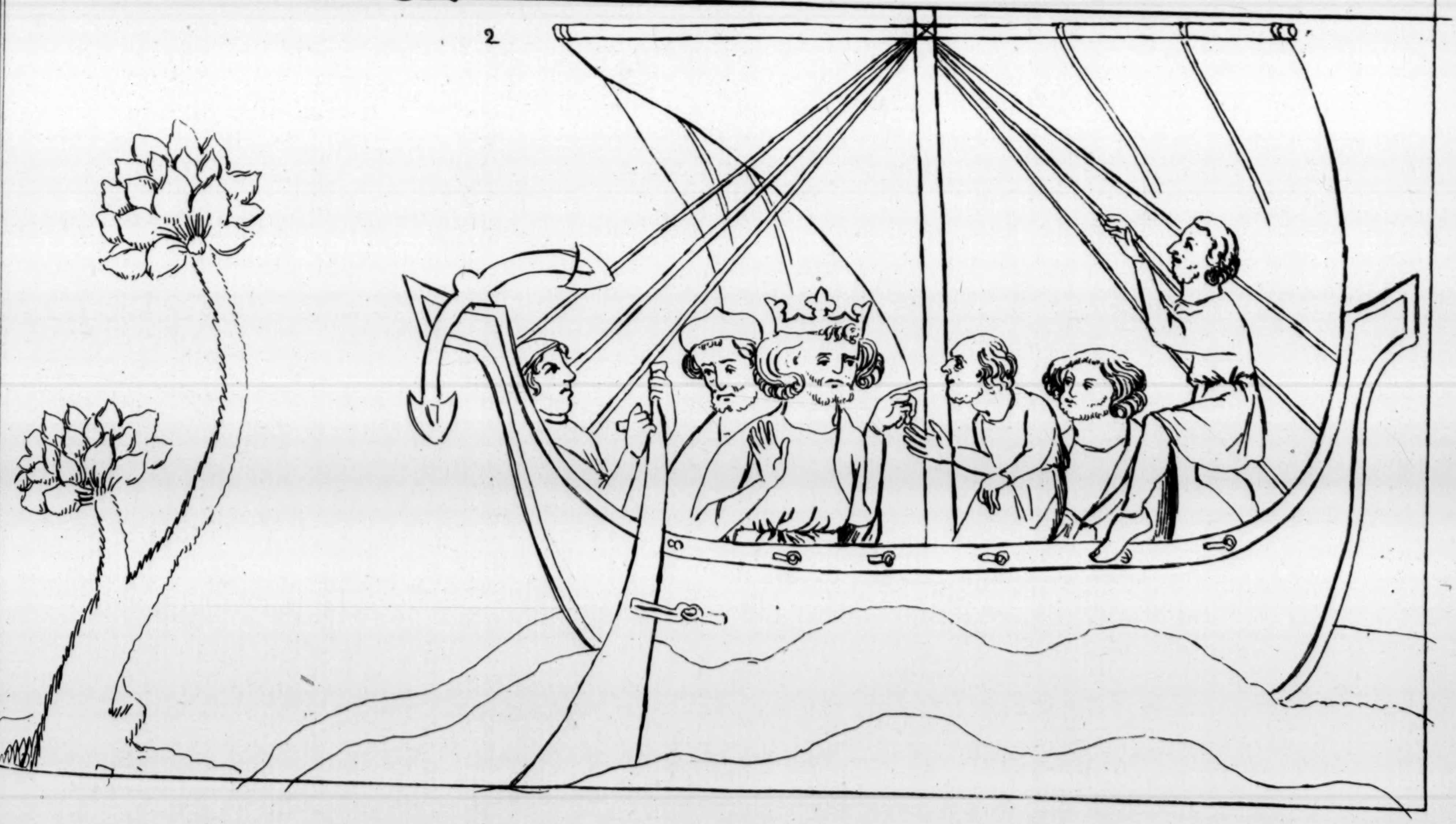

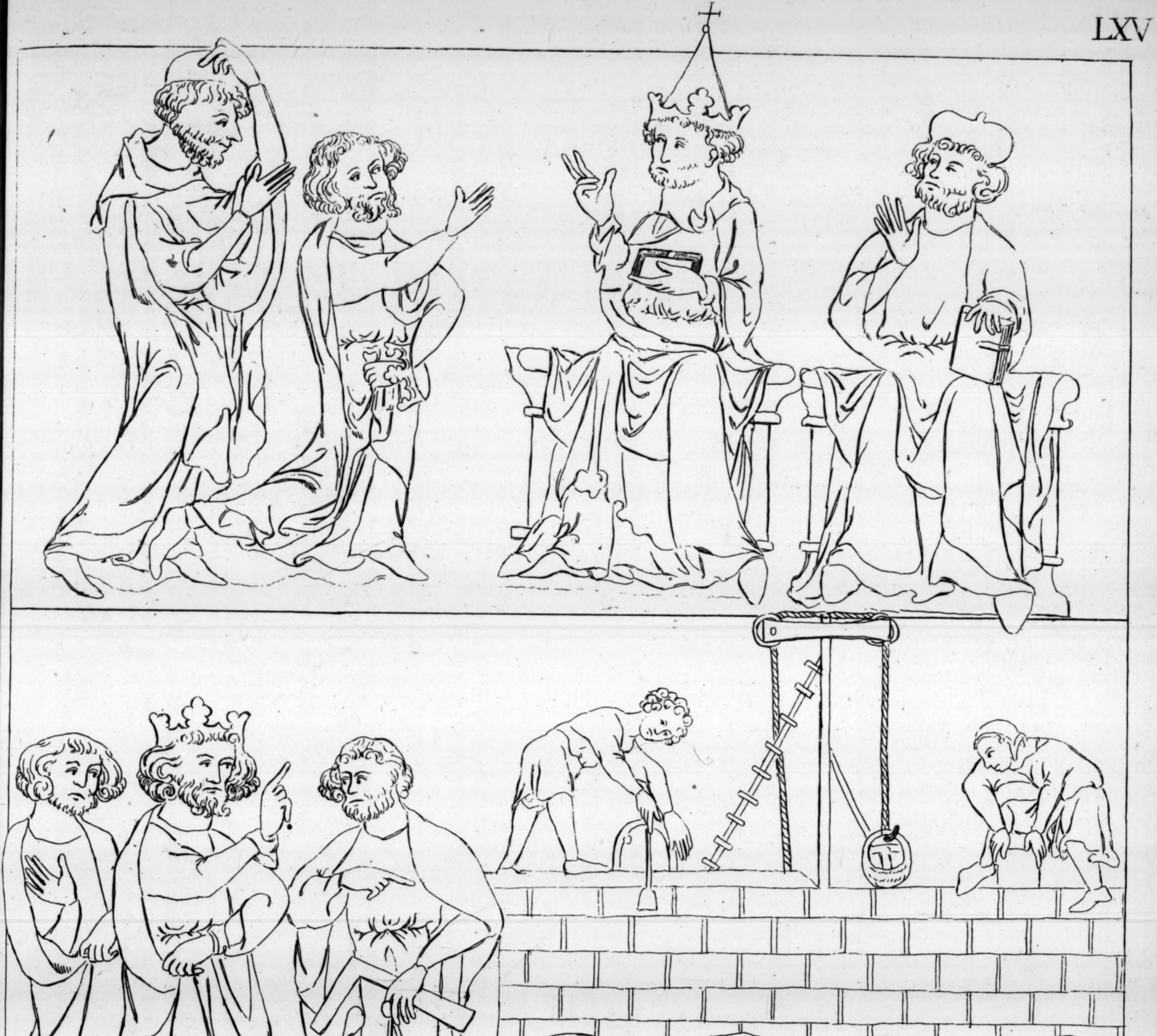

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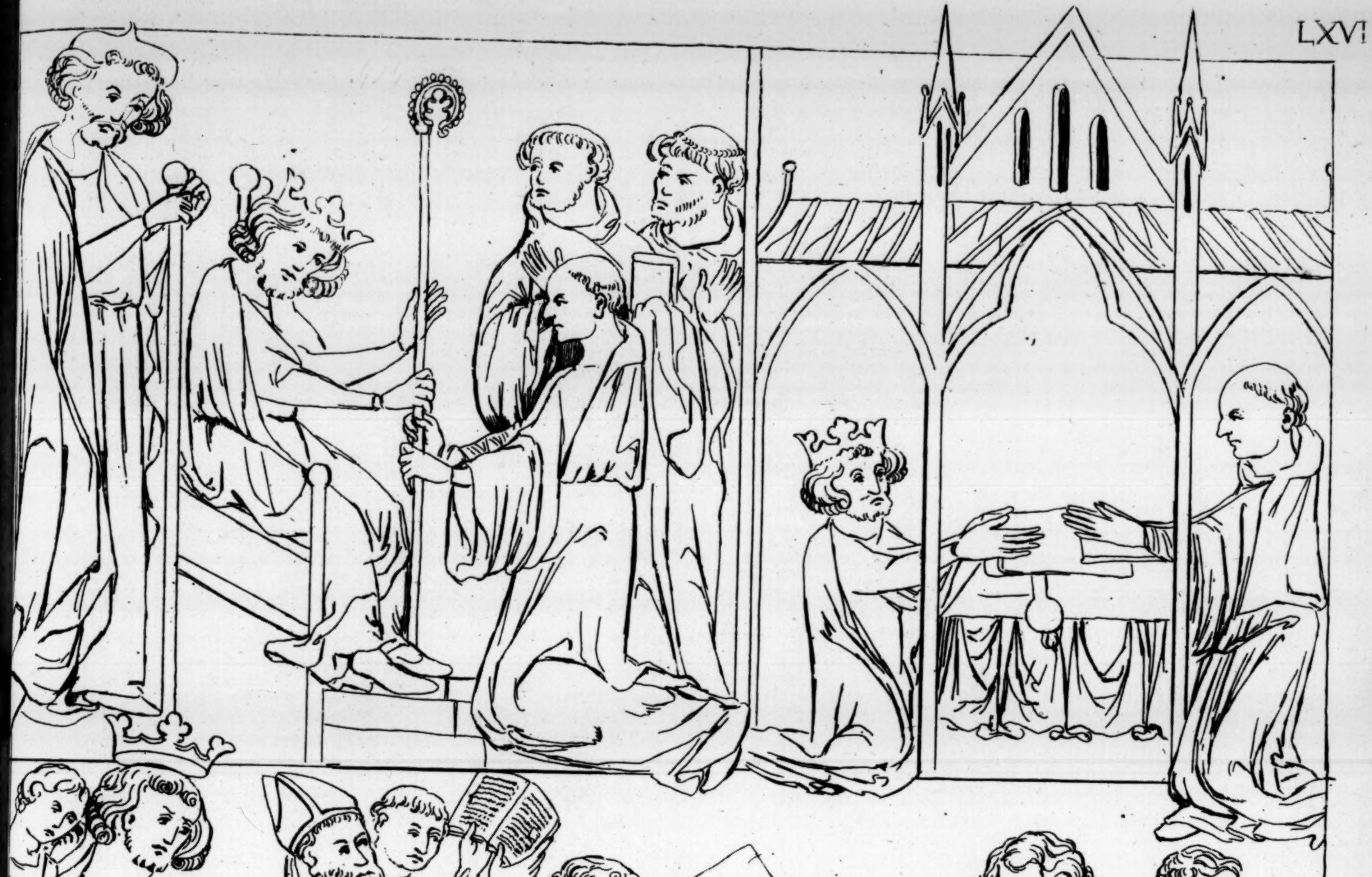

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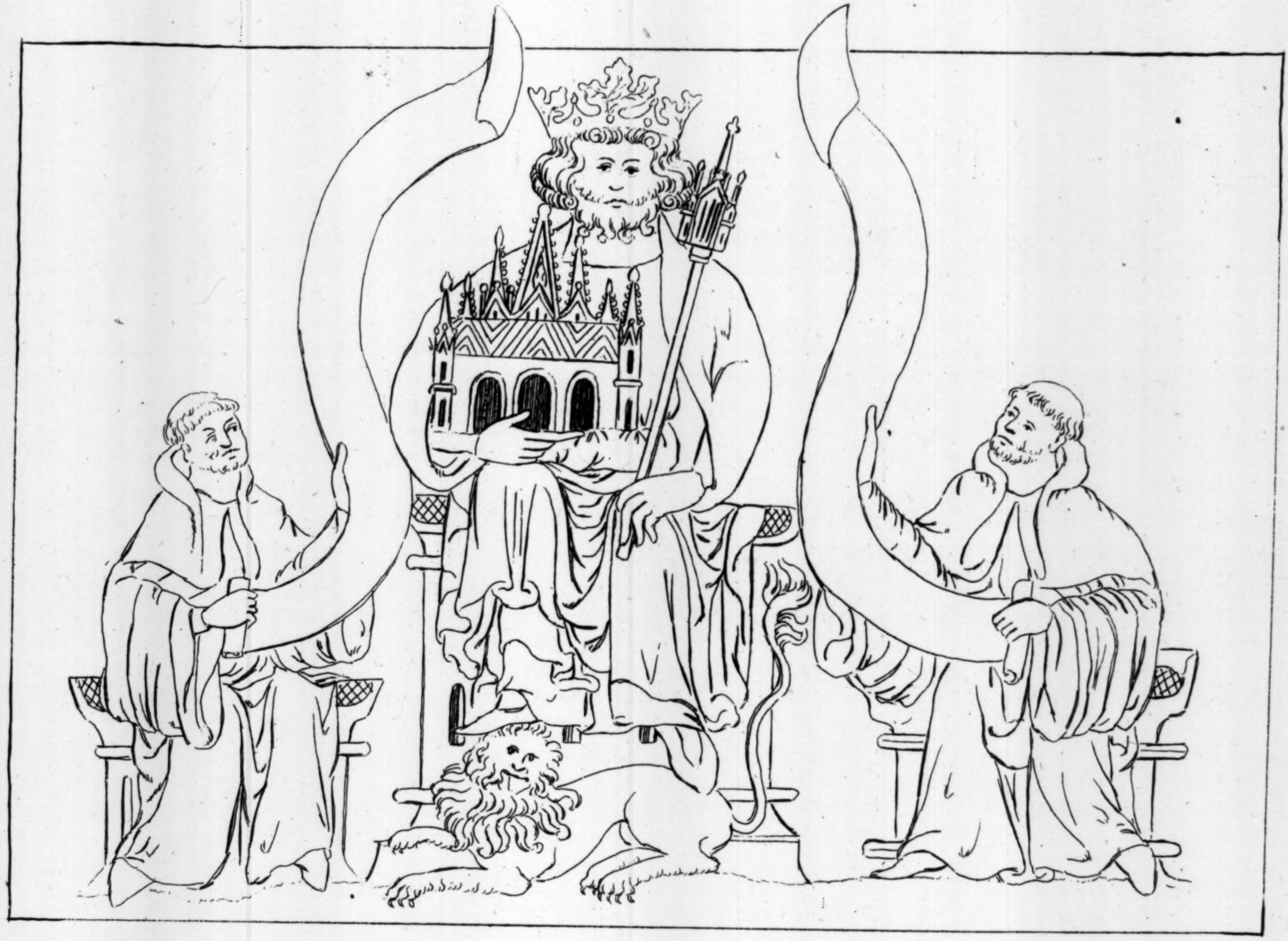

8